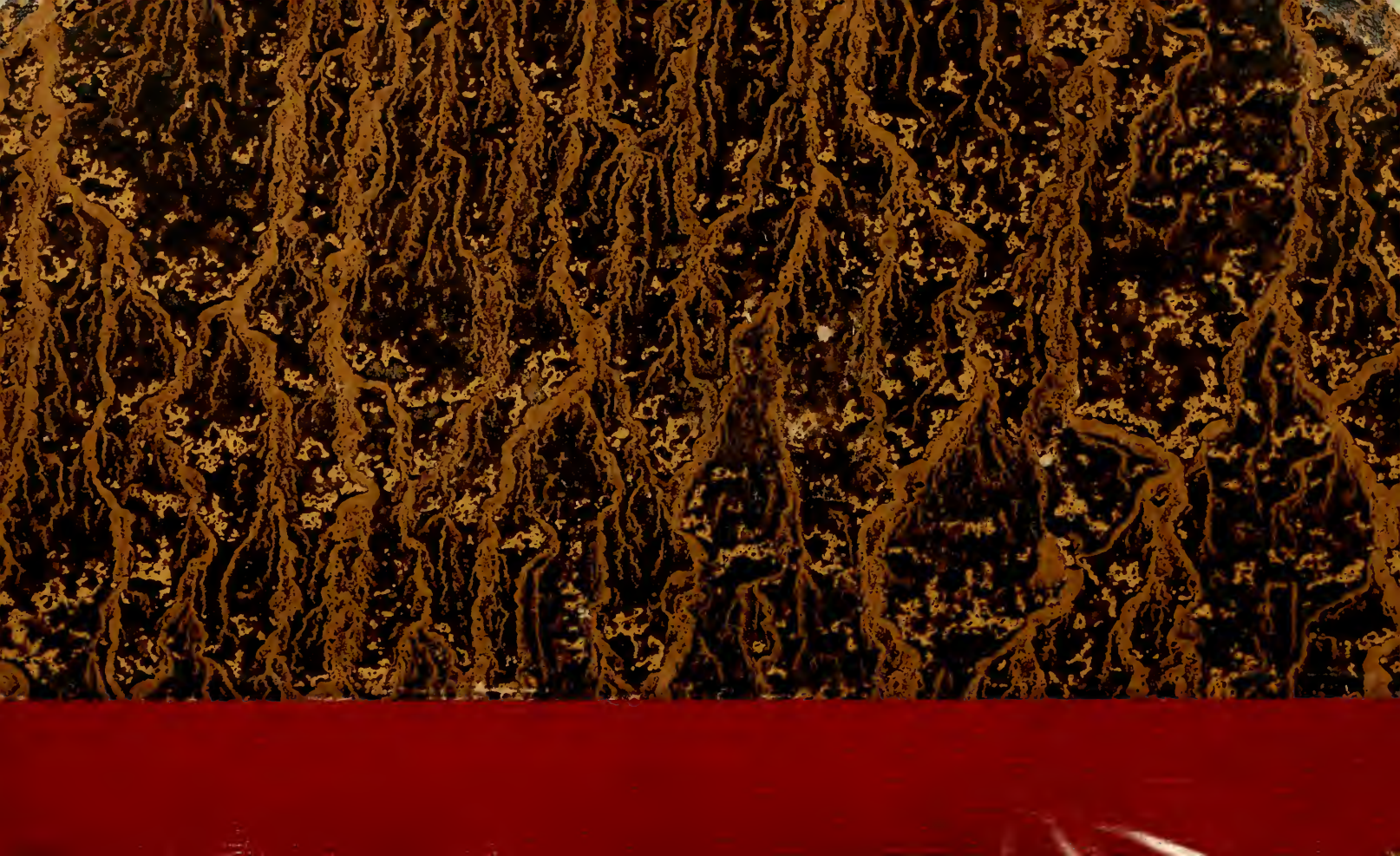

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A

Political History

OF THE

GREAT LATIN PATRIARCHATE.

BOOKS I. & II.

FROM THE FIRST TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

BY

THOMAS GREENWOOD,

M.A. CAMB. AND DURH., F.R.S.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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PREFACE.

About twenty years ago the author of this volume published a work on the early History of the Germans: and in the course of his inquiries was much struck with certain characteristics in the history of the Roman Pontificate which seemed to him to supply the key to the mystery of the papal power; or, at least, to point out the principal sources from which papal Rome drew the elements of that singular vitality which has sustained it to the present time.

As his researches proceeded, and his collections increased in volume, he found it necessary to fix upon some plan by which needless prolixity might be avoided and the vast mass of matter which came under his observation might be reduced to its natural order. He was anxious not to involve himself in the multifarious dogmatic or religious discussions by which theologians of opposite persuasions have obscured or disguised the history of the Papacy. A little reflection convinced him that such a course was altogether unnecessary. Admitting that papal history must be in a great degree the history of *religious opinion,* it struck him that all active living opinion is matter of historical fact; and that it might be treated like all other fact, without inquiring into the dogmatic propriety of the theological grounds upon which it was based. With those grounds he was no further concerned than as they involved other matter of fact triable by the ordinary methods of historical investigation. Viewing the subject in this light, he felt himself under no obligation to inquire how the result of the trial might affect the religious basis of the pontifical claims. Neither can it greatly concern the devouter adherents of the church of Rome to ascertain how any merely human or rationalistic investigation may affect an autho-

rity which they are bound to regard as the subject of original and continuous revelation. To others of that communion it may appear that the presumed revelation does in truth stand in some kind of relation to the facts which have accompanied, or which are alleged in support of it. This class may, perhaps, derive some information from the present volume; but it forms no part of the author's design to induce them either to modify their opinions, or even to look for other—perhaps more tenable—grounds for their actual convictions than those that have been hitherto presented to them by their instructors.

And, in fact, a distinction may be very properly taken between the history, properly so called, and the dogmatic theory of the papacy. The latter will, no doubt, be treated by its advocates as the subject of a revelation transmitted through the Church-catholic to all ages, consequently in that view independent of all other attestation than that of the Church herself: the former of necessity involves a notice and discussion of every material matter accompanying its development; it not only permits but enjoins us to apply to such matter the ordinary tests of historical truth, without troubling ourselves how the theory may be thereby affected. The theological supporters of the theory do not in fact encourage the idea that the chair of Peter can in any wise be made to rest purely, or even principally, upon the historical truth of the testimony alleged in support of it: they therefore regard the concomitant facts, not as substantive proof, but as collateral and confirmatory testimony to a prior revelation, adduced only to show that what has been (as they allege) recognised and adopted from the beginning, and by all Christians, as a matter of divine appointment could be rejected by none but a factious, heretical, or infidel minority.

With this mode of treating the subject the writer of these pages has no concern. He proposes to deal with the facts only: he desires to investigate them by the rules applicable to all matter of fact; to assign to them their true historical character; to consider them in their relation to the social and moral state of the world, and especially to submit the *political* element in the papal scheme to more particular consideration; to bring that element into its natural connection with the religious scheme; and, in the end, to leave it to the reader to form his own conclusions as to the validity of the papal claims, as he may

deem them maintainable upon purely historical testimony. This mode of treatment clearly exempts the writer from the necessity of contesting any theological position whatever. He knows that to the religious Romanist the instructions of his church must supersede all extraneous modes of arriving at the truth; and that though history may be pressed into the service as matter of illustration and confirmation, it cannot be regarded by him as the substantive ground of dogmatic belief. The present work is therefore not addressed to this class of readers, because it cannot be supposed to convey any acceptable or even digestible instruction.

The work, of which this volume is a *first* part, is complete in Ms. down to the close of the great contest of investitures in the thirteenth century. If printed in its present form, it would fill at least five volumes of equal bulk with the volume now before the reader; and if called for by the public, might, provided life and health be granted, be completed in the same number of years by annual volumes. The original plan extended to the Reformation of the sixteenth century; but the enormous mass of the materials to be studied of itself presented an insuperable impediment; unless, indeed, the writer could have satisfied himself with a very superficial survey of those materials, or have contentedly followed in the wake of other compilers; a mode of composition destitute of all interest to himself, and probably also of instruction to his readers.

The plan of the work at no time contemplated the particular history of the pontifical state as its limit. Rome was indeed the residence of the pope, but never the proper seat of the papal power. By such a narrowing of the subject, the narrative must lose in interest far more than it would gain in brevity. On the other hand, if he had ever contemplated treating the papacy in its largest relation to the secular and ecclesiastical annals of the European states, his work must have expanded to an unmanageable bulk; it would probably have defied all his powers of arrangement, and have far exceeded the limits of an ordinary lifetime. He therefore found it necessary to confine himself to the main stream of events; and to diverge only where the connection might be most easily preserved, and where collateral events appeared to afford material illustration of the practical working of the papal scheme. The main objects were always—

the influence of that scheme upon the progress of European civilisation, the development of religious and political liberty, and of those more liberal ideas of public order and government, arts, science, and literature which grew up within the pale of Roman Christianity, and ultimately to a great extent outgrew its control. By following this course the reader may be enabled to come to some definite conclusions as to the amount of profit or loss accruing to the civilised world from the politico-theocratic scheme which for so long a period held that world in subjection; and perhaps form some opinion upon the question, whether in the actual stage of social progress such a scheme can be further conducive to a healthy state of social order, religion, and government.

The writer has long been of opinion that too little attention has been bestowed upon the results of the papal system in its relation to the great interests of civilisation and civil liberty. The causes of this inattention may be traced, on the one hand, to that supine liberalism which throws religion out of the account of political motives of action; and on the other, to that timidity or indifference which sets aside religion altogether as the subject of calculation in the conduct of human affairs. It may, however, be reasonably submitted to these persons, whether their righteous abhorrence of persecution may not have led them into the error of supposing that all dangers may be avoided by declining to inquire into the tendency of religious opinions; whether such a course may not ultimately lead to indifference to the cause of religious liberty; and whether, after that, the world will still continue to defend its civil rights with the same spirit and intelligence as heretofore. The writer has therefore endeavoured to supply what he regards as a serious deficiency in our knowledge of the general bearing of the Roman scheme of ecclesiastical polity upon the civil and political history of the European states, by tracing that scheme from its earliest germs to its fuller development and greatest practical operation. Beyond that point the magnitude of the subject prevents him from carrying his views. A single life is, indeed, barely adequate to the accomplishment of the limited task he has, perhaps rashly, taken upon himself.

With regard to the method of composition, he has thought it best to adhere as closely as possible to the *order of time*. Yet,

even in the earlier period of papal history treated of in this volume, it has not been found always expedient to preserve a strictly chronological arrangement. In the unpublished continuation from the fifth to the twelfth century, the vast extent of the subject, its numerous ramifications, and the several separate nationalities with which it has to deal, rendered any attempt to reduce the whole series of material facts to a synchronous statement not only inexpedient but impracticable. The writer was therefore obliged to resort to frequent retrospect, taking care to select only such collateral matter as seemed necessary to complete the series, and to flow naturally into the main channel of the history.

The writer takes leave to classify the works and documents consulted by him in the course of his labours under the several descriptions of *originals, compilations,* and *criticism.* Of the *first* of these he believes that not many have escaped his attention. He has to the best of his ability examined and weighed them by the rules applicable to all matters of fact, with a view to determine first their genuineness; then to ascertain the means of knowledge possessed by the authors as to transactions to which they depose, their proximity in point of time, their party connections and prepossessions, their character for veracity, consistency, &c. The *second* class of writings, such as compilations, biographies, &c., have been used as guides to the sources of original information, or simply followed in matters of such general notoriety or such established belief as not to require further authentication. Dissertations, essays, tables, and the more philosophical works of the later writers on ecclesiastical history, such as those of Dr. Neander, the Chevalier Bunsen, Mr. Cureton, Mr. Simon, and others, have been resorted to only as a body of criticism, for the rectification of common errors, the reconciliation of conflicting statements, and the adjustment of the chronological series.

The author of these pages has but one other observation to offer. He has perceived with regret that for many years past—more especially since the publication of what is called cheap literature—there has appeared an aversion for sustained or laborious reading, which has operated to the serious discouragement of those whose studies have been bestowed upon the graver topics of historical or philosophical inquiry. An established literary re-

putation; a light, airy, agreeable style; a dashing or picturesque manner; a sharp, enthusiastic, or dogmatic mode of presenting his subject to a selected class of readers,—all these characteristics may help off an edition of a work even of graver import from the pen of the public favourite. But these characteristics do not, it is apprehended, afford to the reader the requisite guarantees for the integrity and impartiality of his author. Where the anxiety to captivate is more apparent than the desire to instruct, there must always remain behind a lurking suspicion that "all is not gold that glitters." Yet the sensitive student or scholar who is conscious that he does not possess those brilliant powers of description or narrative which have fascinated the present generation, cannot be too cautious in calculating upon the favour of the "reading public." The writer of these pages has, however, nothing to complain of on this score. He will be glad to find his work acceptable; but will feel no disappointment if it should be found unsuitable to the public taste. He has not calculated upon any return for the expenses of publication, and will be perfectly satisfied if it be deemed not unworthy of the attention of the few readers who may not so far have plunged into the sublimities of liberalism as to regard the subject of it as altogether out of date.

The author desires to encourage criticism in any shape which may best suit the views, or even the prejudices, of his reviewer; but he would be glad if, before the task is undertaken, he would assure himself that he is really prepared by the requisite previous reading to deal with the subject: for otherwise the main objects of his criticism will fail; the author will not be enabled to profit by his corrections; and the reviewer, if a man of sense and integrity, will be unable to satisfy himself that he is in a position to do perfect justice either to the author or the public.

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CATHEDRA PETRI:

A

POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

GREAT LATIN PATRIARCHATE.

Book I. Chapter I.

PETER AT ROME? APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

Rome—Jews at Rome—Introduction of Christianity—Christian Jews—Church-government?—Episcopacy—Episcopacy in Rome—St. Peter—His primacy?—Historical exposition of the "Tu es Petrus," &c.—Contemporary exposition—St. Paul—Council at Jerusalem—The *Rock*—Peter the beginner—Germ of the primacy—St. Peter at Rome?—Testimonies to a visit of St. Peter to Rome—Gospel testimonies—Babylon!—Clemens Romanus—Papias—Ignatius—Trial of the testimony—Conclusion.

In the first century of the Christian era Rome was the centre of intercourse to the whole civilised world. The pursuits of men in arts, commerce, literature, philosophy, religion, were quickened and encouraged by frequent interchange of ideas, and by the patronage and tolerance of the government. Few obstacles, therefore, existed to the propagation of new ideas and opinions, provided they were not thought to interfere with the authority of the prince, or to endanger the tranquillity of the state. The popular religion, though once powerful, had sunk into an inert superstition, compliant because it stood upon no strong documentary basis, and tolerant because it had but a shallow root in the

Rome.

sympathies and affections of the people; it possessed, in truth, no moral force, because it was grounded upon no moral principle; by the wise it was regarded as an instrument of government; and by the populace rather as a source of amusement, or mere matter of habit, than as a rule of life and conduct.

Jews at Rome.

In the fourth year of the 193d Olympiad, corresponding with the 4709th year of the Julian period and the 27th of the reign of Augustus, Christ was born into the world. Thirty-three years afterwards, or, according to the vulgar computation, in the 20th year of the reign of Tiberius, He died upon the cross for the salvation of mankind. At this point of time, and probably for at least a century before, great numbers of Jews had settled at Rome. They had their synagogues there, and formed an important portion of the mercantile community, more particularly in connection with the commerce of the East. Religious obligation, and the pursuit of gain, annually conducted great numbers of these colonists to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, whence they returned with fresh resolution to encounter the aversion of their neighbours, and furnished with wealth to buy off persecution, and to give them weight even among those who both hated and despised them.

Introduction of Christianity.

Such colonies were, in fact, established in almost all the great commercial cities of the empire. Thus, in Rome and elsewhere, a nidus was prepared for the introduction and nurture of the religion of Christ. As under the old, so also under the new dispensation, that people was the channel in which the oracles of God were appointed to flow. It is certain that, within a few years after the crucifixion, converts to Christianity were found among the Jews settled at Rome. It is, however, difficult to determine the precise epoch at which the light of the Gospel first broke upon the metropolis of the empire. When the apostle Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans, that is, in the autumn of the year 57 or early in 58, the converts in that city were a well-known and highly esteemed con-

stituent of the Christian body. The religion must therefore have taken root there within twenty-five years of the death of the Saviour. It has been indeed conjectured that the Gospel was first preached in the capital by the disciples who were "scattered abroad" after the martyrdom of Stephen; that is, towards the close of the reign of Tiberius. Others even assign an earlier date, and ascribe the introduction of Christianity into Rome to the "strangers" from that city present among the audience of Peter on the day of Pentecost, and who on their return home "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship."[a] But the only certain intelligence we possess of the earliest state of the Roman Church is, that when Paul wrote his epistle to the Christian community there, their faith and fervour had engaged the attention and admiration of the whole world.

Christian Jews in Rome.

The numbers of the Jewish colonists settled in Rome before the Christian era must have been very considerable. Shortly before that era no fewer than 8000 Jews domiciled in Rome had joined in a petition to the Emperor Augustus from their countrymen in Palestine.[b] But before the arrival of Paul there is no reason to believe that any attempt was made to propagate the Gospel beyond the pale of the Jewish nationality. Yet, as far back as eleven or twelve years before the apostolic visit, we have some proof that the introduction of Christianity among the Jewish community had produced civil commotions alarming to the government. The Emperor Claudius had expelled all Jews from Rome (A.D. 49); and if we may rely upon the common exposition of a passage in Suetonius[c] the measure must be ascribed to one of those seditious movements engendered by religious hatred, to which the Jewish temperament was so peculiarly liable. In Rome, as in most other great cities[d] of the empire, we must conclude that the introduction of Christianity had given

[a] *Rom.* i. 8; xii. 6; xvi. 19. *Acts* viii. 1-4; ii. 10, 42.

[b] *Joseph.* Antiq. &c. lib. xvii. c. 11.

[c] "Judæos, impulsore Chresto (Christo?) assidue tumultuantes, Româ (Claudius) expulit."—*Suet.* in Claud. c. 25.

[d] *Acts* vii. 58, 59; xii. 3, 4 et sqq.; xiii. 45, 50; xiv. 2, 5, 6; xvii. 5-7.

occasion for breaches of the public peace highly displeasing to the magistracy. Seditions of so grave a character as to lead to the indiscriminate expulsion of a large and industrious community, seem to imply a numerous array of rioters on both sides; and that the Christian party was strong enough to resist by force the assaults of their infatuated countrymen.

St. Paul is believed to have arrived in Rome some time in the year 61 of the Christian era. Four years previously to his appeal and imprisonment he had written his great epistle to the Roman Christians. The numerous salutations he addressed to his personal friends among them, and his mention of many others by general description, favours the supposition that the persons so addressed formed a part of a much more numerous body.[e] In fact, a year or two previous to the date of this epistle, the Jews, and with them the Jewish Christians, had been permitted to return to Rome; and, at the date of the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64), the latter are described by Tacitus as a "great multitude."[f] Within the term of St. Paul's residence at Rome there is good ground to believe that the new profession had not only spread to the heathen population, but that it had found its way into the imperial household, and that converts to Christianity were numbered among the servants and attendants of the Cæsar.[g]

Church-government.

Previously to the arrival of St. Paul at Rome we have no hint whatever of any form of church-government, properly so called, having been adopted by the Roman Christians. While he lived among them, we may take it for granted that the entire management of the affairs of the Church lay upon his shoulders. And, in the absence of all contemporary evidence, we may presume that the outward organisation adopted by the Christians of Rome resembled that of the like associations in every city where the Gospel had been successfully preached. They had therefore in

[e] See *Rom* xvi. 1-16.

[f] "Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur; deinde indicio eorum *multitudo ingens* . . . convicti sunt."—*Annal.* lib. xv. c. 44.

[g] *Philip.* iv. 22.

all probability their *elders* and *deacons* or ministering officers, and numbered among the most active and energetic of their leaders those whom the peculiar gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit had qualified to give the requisite impulse to the Christian scheme; to strengthen its hold upon the ground already gained, and afford a firm basis for its further propagation. But this constitution could have been only inchoate and elementary, consequently open to all those changes, additions, and improvements, which time, the course of political events and variation of public opinion, might render necessary for the perfect accomplishment of the divine purpose in bringing it into existence.

The Episcopacy.

There is no positive or contemporary evidence of any earlier apostolic visit to Rome than that of St. Paul. As far as direct testimony carries us, the office of temporary overseer or superintendent[h] had devolved upon him, as it had during his temporary abodes at Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonica, and other cities where he had dwelt for any length of time. It is very probable that he occasionally, if not uniformly, provided for the absence of his own personal management by the appointment of officers, whose duties and tenure of office would naturally follow the nature and character of those he had himself exercised. And in fact the directions given to his disciples Timothy and Titus for the appointment of presiding elders and deacons savour much more of a discretionary than of a peremptory character.[i] Yet these directions, when considered in connection with the fact that at no great distance of time afterwards few Christian churches were found without such superintending officers, bears strong testimony to the general expediency of that office, and of the sense entertained of the value of the apostolic recommendation. But in the apostolic times the *succession* of bishops was a matter of no importance. The first Christians could have had no other objects in view in the choice of their ministers but the fitness of the person chosen for the

[h] Ἐπίσκοπος, App. A. at the end of this Book.
[i] 1 *Tim.* iii. 1-13; 2 *Tim.* ii. 2; *Tit.* i. 5-9.

extension of the kingdom of Christ, the conversion of the heathen, and the edification of the elect. Wherever a prospect was opened of adding to the flock, thither the Christian shepherd betook himself. There is in fact as little reason to believe that presiding ministers, presbyters or deacons, were the strictly stationary officers they afterwards became, as that the apostles themselves were so. It might indeed have been incidental to their position, and to the ever-growing numbers of the converts in particular regions, that their labours should be confined to more limited districts; but those limits were defined by no such fixed territorial boundaries as those adopted in a subsequent age, when a more definite distribution of ecclesiastical duties became necessary.

Episcopacy in Rome.

It is indeed out of the range of probability that, even prior to the arrival of the apostle, the Jewish converts at Rome should not—if it were only in conformity with the constitution of the synagogue—have been provided with a presiding elder. And though while St. Paul resided among them he naturally took that office upon himself, yet he can with no greater propriety be regarded as the *first bishop* of Rome—respect being had to the later character of the office—than of Ephesus or of Corinth. The primitive Christians of Rome have not told us who was their first bishop, either because they had a very vague idea of any kind of government, or because the superintendence required was yielded spontaneously and without formal appointment to the person best qualified to fulfil its duties, without regard to rank, name, or station. We hear of no bishop of Rome till long after the death of Paul; unless, therefore, we regard him as the first bishop, we must conclude either that the office did not exist at all, or that it was held by some person of whom no notice is taken in the Christian Scriptures or in any other contemporary record. But with the expansion of the idea of the episcopal office—more especially when for other reasons the question of the *succession* grew into importance—it became a matter of convenience and even of conscience to ascertain the point. One party among Christians has fixed upon the

apostle Paul as the first bishop of Rome; the majority of Christians have put forward the claims of Peter to the episcopate of the metropolis of the Roman empire, and have alleged certain testimony to support the opinion that the latter had been accepted by all the apostles of Christ in a body; and after their example, by the primitive Church-catholic, as *prince* of the apostles; using the word to denote a chief governor invested with powers spiritual transcending those of his colleagues: that, in such capacity, he visited Rome many years before the apostle Paul made his appearance there, exercising the offices of apostle and bishop; and transmitted it to a successor: and that he and his colleague perished there together as martyrs of the faith in the Neronian persecution.

If we believe that such an opinion could not have been entertained by the Christians of the first century, the interest of the inquiry is obviously prospective, and must have reference to a very different state of things from that to which it specifically relates. Yet if we take it for granted that the bishop of that age was the identical officer who appears under the same name in the third and fourth centuries—a supposition which it must be admitted runs through all the professed ecclesiastical historians—we become at once aware of its historical importance; and that, as it relates to the subject of this work, we cannot evade the inquiry. The growth and development of the opinion of St. Peter's primacy forms in fact the groundwork of the history of the great Latin Patriarchate. We inquire, therefore, what evidence exists that Peter, the senior apostle of Christ, at any period of his life dwelt, preached, and performed the duty of bishop at Rome.

St. Peter.

But the later Latin Church has affirmed, as a fact capable of historical proof, that the apostle Peter received from his Lord a special commission to govern His Church with absolute power; and, as an unavoidable inference, it is dogmatically contended that the power thus conferred descended to the successors of Peter in his particular as well as his universal episco-

pate; so that if the fact that Peter lived and governed at Rome as bishop be once established, those who succeeded him in the local episcopate, inherited, together with that episcopate, whatever authority he may himself have possessed over the whole Church.

St. Peter's primacy.

It has never been disputed that the apostle Peter was the senior among the disciples of Christ. On all occasions of enumeration he is mentioned first on the list. In several instances his zeal and energy are noticed by his Lord with a degree of approbation which countenances the idea of some kind of personal distinction conferred upon him above the rest. With a view to reduce that distinction to definite terms, two passages from the Gospels are produced. These passages are contained in the xvith chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and in the xxist chapter of that of St. John. In the former of these the Lord pronounces a special blessing upon Peter, concluding with a *personal* address to him in the words: "And I say unto thee, thou art Peter; and upon this Rock will I found my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[j] In the second passage appealed to, our Lord, once more singling out the apostle, addresses him thus: "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, 'Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee.' He saith unto him, 'Feed my lambs.' He saith unto him again a second time, 'Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?' He saith unto him, 'Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee.' He saith unto him, 'Feed my sheep.' He saith unto him a third time, 'Simon, son of Jonas, 'lovest thou me?' Peter was grieved, because he said unto him a third time, 'Lovest thou me.' He said unto him, 'Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee.' Jesus said unto him, 'Feed my sheep.'"[k]

It is alleged that these passages, taken together and in conjunction with the whole bearing of the Saviour

[j] *Matt.* xvi. 18, 19. [k] *John* xxi. 15-17.

towards Peter, imply, not merely a particular and personal, but a sole and exclusive commission to that apostle to be the ruler and governor of the *flock of Christ*—the sheep whom he was to feed—thereby denoting the universal Church: and that Church was to rest, as a building upon its foundation, upon the *Rock* of which the name "Peter" was *literally*—and not merely figuratively—descriptive; that is, the future Church was to be built upon Peter *personally*, as the representative of the Saviour upon earth.

This statement, though not literally following the words of the Gospels, is contended for as a matter of necessary implication from them; and that implication is supported upon the following facts, as appears from the passages quoted: *first*, that the Lord addressed Peter personally and exclusively: *secondly*, that He pronounced a blessing upon him which was not pronounced upon the other apostles: and *thirdly*, that the power of the keys was here promised to him, without any notice of the rest. Historical exposition.

This alleged chiefship or principality of Peter depends, in the first place, upon the soundness of the exposition given. But with the discussion of this question our narrative is not directly concerned. Whether this be a faithful interpretation of the words or not, it is our sole business to inquire what corroborative testimony exists of the practical meaning attributed to them by those who were the personal witnesses of these addresses,—who must be presumed to have best understood His words,—who must have seen His gestures and felt His emphasis at the time of uttering them,—and who, if they had understood them in any special sense, would have taken care afterwards to manifest that understanding by their conduct and demeanour towards the person so specially pointed out to them. After this the historical inquiry will embrace the more general question, whether any and what evidence exists of such a continuity and uniformity of practical exposition of these texts, or other portions of the evangelical and apostolical writings, as would rationally lead to the conclusion that the apostles themselves,

or their primitive followers, entertained any idea of the alleged chieftainship or principality of St. Peter corresponding with that of the later period just adverted to.

Contemporary exposition.

The first point to which our attention is called leads to the inquiry: How those persons who were most interested in the question of the primacy, whose position was most nearly affected by it, and who had the best means of knowledge, spoke and conducted themselves towards their alleged primate and ruler? Now it appears from two other passages in the Gospels,[1] that the same general powers, and in particular the "power of the keys," were conferred by the Lord upon the apostles in a body. There remains, therefore, only the *exclusive address* to appeal to in support of the general superintendence or primacy alleged to have been vested in Peter. It is not denied that these concurrent attributions introduce an ambiguity and a difficulty into the whole question; and from this difficulty there is but one mode of escape. We must look attentively to the concomitant or contemporary acts and declarations of the Lord and His apostles to ascertain whether such a superintendence or primacy was intended by Him, or acknowledged by them in such manner and form as to afford rational ground to believe that they (the apostles) accepted it on their own behalf personally, or that of the Church prospectively, or both.

In our search for evidence upon this point, we are struck, in the first place, by a passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew (xix. 27, 28): "Then answered Peter, and said unto him, 'Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee: what shall we have therefore?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'" This passage appears strongly to negative the idea of any inequality among the disciples in the *celestial kingdom* of the Saviour. Another passage in the same Gospel (xxiii. 8-12) intimates the same as to His *earthly kingdom*.

[1] *Matt.* xviii. 18; *John* xx. 21-23.

"But," says our Lord to his disciples, "be ye not called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call *no man* your *father* upon earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called *masters:* for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself (among you) shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted."

From the Gospel of St. Luke (xxii. 24-30) we learn that upon a particular occasion a strife arose among the disciples which of them should be accounted the greatest. "And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them. . . . . *But ye shall not be so:* but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth." The question of the mastery or primacy among the disciples in their special character of ministers of Christ is here expressly raised; and the existence of any such power is *primâ facie* as expressly negatived as words could convey it. Upon the whole bearing, therefore, of these declarations we conclude that, as ministers of the gospel, our Lord meant that no single member of the apostolic college should, either in His earthly or in His heavenly kingdom, enjoy any pre-eminence of rank or power over the rest.[m] The words and declarations of Christ, it appears, import a direct negative upon the alleged primacy or mastery in the apostle Peter, unless it be clearly shown that the exclusive addresses above quoted were practically adopted and acted upon in the lifetime of Peter by his colleagues and associates in the gospel ministry. The absence of such corroborative testimony, though it might not summarily dispose of the question, would throw it back upon the infirm ground of simple tradition, or introduce it under the patronage of Church-authority; a position in which, indeed, the hand of history could not well meddle with it.

[m] A certain weight of influence approaching to authority might perhaps be inferred from these passages, but solely upon the ground of superior merit in the person claiming it. Comp. *John* xiii. 12-16.

Apostolic exposition.

We have now shortly to inquire whether there is good reason to believe that the apostles, or any of them, in the course of their ministry professed or conceived themselves to be acting under the control of a superior? This is the issue to which the evidence within our reach must be applied.

St. Paul.

In the first place, it will be admitted that there are no traces of direct verbal acknowledgment of such a superiority to be found in the acts or epistles of the apostles. In the next place, then, do we find any thing in their conduct or demeanour to lead to a contrary conclusion? The apostle Paul, in his first letter to the Corinthians, says that he has "laboured more abundantly than they all;" and in his second letter expresses his conviction that "he is not a whit, nor in any thing behind the very chiefest of the apostles."[n] These words amount to a claim of equal merits in all respects with the rest of the apostles, though he were the "chiefest"—in other words, the most meritorious in the gospel cause—among them all. But they are not absolutely inconsistent with the existence of a controlling authority in some quarter or other, unless we import into them the declaration of the Lord, by which the superiority, if any, could only be claimed on the score of superior merit. But the nature of the equality he takes to himself is more clearly described in his epistle to the Galatians (ii. 6-12). The passage in question has reference to a meeting between St. Peter and St. Paul at Antioch, exceedingly well adapted to draw forth some positive declaration, or to exhibit some decisive course of conduct in confirmation of the primacy alleged, if such a primacy had had any existence in the mind of the Church there assembled. In his narrative of this scene to the Galatians Paul observes, that "God accepteth no man's person;" and he adds, "they who were somewhat"—persons of some weight or authority—"in conference *added nothing unto me*"—gave me no authority I had not before—"but contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the

[n] 1 *Cor.* xv. 10; 2 *Cor.* xi. 5, and xii. 11.

gospel of the circumcision was to Peter (for He that had wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles): and when James, Cephas (Peter), and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision . . . But when Peter was come (from Jerusalem) to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain (persons) came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision."

In the conduct and declarations of St. Paul upon this occasion we find no trace of respect for the office or the person of St. Peter, beyond what was due to him as a colleague; he expressly disclaims all subordination with reference to his own peculiar mission, and repudiates all commands or instructions inconsistent with the free exercise of his own judgment, even from the apostolic assembly upon which Peter was then actually in attendance. He assumes the right to resist, and even to administer a public rebuke to Peter in the face of the assembly—a right inconsistent with the obedience and respect due to the official superior whom their common Master had placed upon the throne of His Church. We must, therefore, understand St. Paul upon this occasion to have claimed for himself a plenary equality with Peter and the rest of the apostles in respect both of rank and office—an absolute independence of all human authority in the execution of the peculiar duties imposed upon him, and recognised by the assembled Church.

The apostolic council at Jerusalem.

There remains but one other incident in the gospel history which has any bearing upon the character and position of the apostle Peter among his colleagues. In the year of our Lord 51, according to the common chronology,[6] the apostles and elders of the Church met in council at Jerusalem, to

[6] *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccl. tom. i. p. 170.

consider the question, whether the ceremonial law of Moses—in particular the rite of circumcision—ought to be imposed upon the Gentile converts. The pharisaic Christians were very ill-inclined to submit to that levelling of all distinction of religious privilege between themselves and the Gentile Churches which the abolition of the Hebrew ritual would have accomplished. After much disputation, the apostle Peter arose, and recommended the abrogation of the outward forms of Judaism in favour of the Gentile converts. Then, after hearing Paul and Barnabas, the apostle James proposed a compromise, and it was agreed that letters should be addressed to the Gentiles, admitting them to all the privileges of fellowship in the gospel, upon condition that they should abstain "from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood." This document was drawn up in the names of the "apostles, elders, and brethren" there assembled, without special mention of Peter or any other apostle. The account of the meeting in the "Acts of the Apostles"[p] imputes neither authority nor precedence to Peter. The presidency—if such a term be applicable to an assembly which could have little need of any moderator but the Spirit which guided them—appears to have rested with St. James. After much discussion, we are told, St. Peter arose; he was therefore neither the first speaker, or prolocutor of the council, nor was he the last; nor do we perceive any reason to believe that his sentiments contributed in any greater degree to the ultimate decision than those of any other member. Peter was, indeed, heard with respect; but so also were Paul and Barnabas and James, and no doubt several others; but as it respects rank, office, or privilege, there is not the least ground to presume from the narrative that any inequality existed among the members of the assembly. It may be added, that a better opportunity for declaring such inequality could not have offered itself than that of a general council of the Church, convoked to consider a question of vital importance to the success of the gospel

[p] *Acts* xv. 5-21.

scheme — if any such inequality had been in contemplation.

The Rock.

But, with a view to the fair balance of testimony upon the question, whether within the lifetime of the apostle Peter, or that of his colleagues and fellow-labourers, any pre-eminence of rank, power, or authority on his part was understood to exist, it is requisite to take into consideration some few other circumstances connected with his life and conduct as a minister of the gospel.

In the *exclusive* addresses of our Lord to Peter which we have had occasion to consider, that apostle is described as, in some undefined sense, the *rock* or *foundation* upon which the Church of Christ was to be erected. The term "foundation" is, however, used by the sacred writers in a variety of senses. We may therefore ask: which of these significations corresponds best with the facts recorded of him and his ministry? Sometimes the term is used to signify a spring or source.[q] Again, Christ Himself is described as the Rock or Foundation.[r] Then, again, it is applied to one who has made a good or successful beginning in the work of the gospel;[s] or it is used to designate persons of distinguished merit in the establishment of the Church.[t] In the two latter applications of the metaphor there can be no doubt that Peter was evidently a "foundation" of the Church. At his first appearance as a public minister of the gospel he converted 3000 persons in one day;[u] and immediately after that signal triumph a Christian Church was, as it were, born into the world.[v] The same apostle may, perhaps with some propriety, be regarded as the beginner of a Church among the Gentiles, by the conversion of the centurion Cornelius, his family and friends;[w] and to the merit, if we may so speak, of this transaction, he himself lays claim publicly and without contradiction before the council assembled at Jerusalem.[x]

In the sense, therefore, of a beginner, or first builder

[q] 1 *Cor.* x. 4
[r] 1 *Cor.* iii. 11.
[s] *Rom.* xv. 20; 1 *Cor.* iii. 10.
[t] *Ephes.* ii. 19-21; *Rev.* xxi. 14.
[u] *Acts* ii. 41.
[v] *Acts* ii. 47.
[w] *Acts* x. 24-48; *Ibid.* xi. 1.
[x] *Acts* xv. 7.

Peter the beginner.

of the gospel edifice, Peter, his faith and his labours together, were in exact conformity with the standard of merit set up by Christ himself,[y] the foundation or rock upon which the Church was built; and for this task he was especially qualified by the strength of his faith, the ardour of his zeal, and the natural activity of his character. He therefore took the lead in the great work in hand; and the post was assigned to him with gratitude and reverence by his colleagues and fellow-labourers.

It may perhaps be contended that these acts of St. Peter were in fact the acts of a chief and leader; and that inasmuch as they were done in the face of the whole Church, and with the full concurrence and approbation of the apostolic college, they raise some presumption of an acknowledgment of a leadership or primacy in him; and *that* in such a way as to connect their conduct in this respect with the words of Christ, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I found my Church," &c., and thus to furnish such a practical exposition as would suffice to invest him with the character of an acknowledged chief or primate.

On the other hand, it will be observed, that although St. Peter took the lead in the first construction of a church, he did not insist upon that lead afterwards. When St. Paul stepped in, another "master builder" appeared upon the scene—a man of equal energy and greater steadiness of purpose—one whose convictions were equally strong, and whose learning and powers of address were incalculably greater. When, therefore, Paul claimed his exclusive mission for the conversion of the Gentiles, Peter put forward no claim to interfere with that branch of the work in hand, on the score of his own initiative act in the same cause. Again, neither in the extant works of any of the apostles, nor in those of St. Peter himself, is any claim to such a primacy alleged on his behalf. It is not probable that if such a claim had been known to, and admitted by the apostles, it should thus have remained unnoticed. This neglect could not have

[y] See p. 11 of this chap. (note).

arisen from want of occasions, during his and their lifetime, for bringing it forward and affirming it. We cannot presume that—acting as they did under the direction of the Holy Spirit—they would, if it had been known to them, have wilfully disregarded, or sinfully suppressed it. Perhaps still less should we be justified in supposing that if the apostle Peter himself had been conscious of so great a trust reposed in him, and so high a duty cast upon him by his Lord, he would have shrunk either from the assertion of the one, or the performance of the other.[z]

Germ of St. Peter's primacy.

It is, however, eminently probable that the germ of the opinion of Peter's primacy is to be found in the prominent circumstances of his early career. They were indeed of a nature to place him personally in an exalted position in the Church. The terms in which he is described in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles—the several manifestations of Christ to himself personally—his forwardness on all occasions of service to his Master and his Master's cause—his seniority among the disciples, and the kind of precedency yielded at all times to age and experience—the almost invariable priority of his name among the disciples in the incidents connected with the intercourse between them and their Lord,—all these circumstances taken together, whatever their contemporary effect, or the position they may have established for him at the time, were certainly well adapted to raise a certain presumption of pre-eminence, of rank at least; and were certainly operative, in a subsequent age, in producing a very general opinion in the Christian world of a certain privilege and precedency in that chair which alleged a descent, or title by succession, from him.

St. Peter at Rome?

But before the idea of a derivative primacy could become attached, in the mind of the Christian world, to the particular see of Rome, it is obvious that three other questions of fact, all of equal

[z] See 1 *Pet.* v. 1-4. The words of the apostle import almost an express renunciation on behalf of the ministers of the gospel of any "lordship" over "God's inheritance."

importance, should have received some kind of answer. An alleged spiritual descent from the apostle Peter could only be grounded upon concurrent testimony: *first*, that the apostle himself had resided in the city of Rome; *secondly*, that he had there exercised the function of bishop in some sense of that term; and *thirdly*, that he had transmitted that function to his successors by a formal delegation.

Testimonies to St. Peter's visit to Rome.

It may be stated generally with perfect certainty, that no visit of the apostle Peter to the West is asserted in direct and positive terms by any extant Christian writer of the first three centuries. Such a visit, however, has, for the last fifteen hundred years, been taken for granted by the Latin churches, as a necessary inference from certain passages contained as well in the extant as in the non-extant writings of those ages; the latter known to us only by extracts or quotations from authors whose works have come down to us.

Babylon.

The first, and by a great deal the most important passage alleged as proof of the fact in question occurs in the first epistle of the apostle himself, addressed "To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." This epistle closes with the usual salutation in the words: "The church that is at *Babylon*, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth Marcus my son."[a] Now it is currently affirmed in the Latin Church, and very frequently admitted by those branches of that Church which have renounced the Roman communion, that in the figurative language of that age—the *apostolic age*—Rome was frequently, nay even habitually, designated by the name of Babylon; that the epistle was therefore dated from Rome, a fact which demonstrates his personal presence there when it was written. This argument, if substantiated, is of itself conclusive evidence on the question.[b] The only proof required is, that in the apostolic age Rome was familiarly known to the Asiatic congregations whom St. Peter addresses as the mystical Babylon, and that

[a] 1 *Pet.* v. 13.

[b] See the argument stated ap. *Baronium*, Annales Ecclesiæ, tom. i. pp. 323, 324.

that name was a recognised mode of designating the capital of the empire.[c] The earliest intimation we possess of any such opinion being afloat in the Christian world is derived from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, a work written about the middle of the fourth century. Towards the close of that age we know that it did prevail, perhaps universally.[d] Eusebius himself, however, states it, not on any contemporary authority, but simply as a report or opinion current in his own times. With the arbitrary expositions of a few passages in the Revelation of St. John, in which the name of Babylon occurs, with a view to identify it with the city of Rome,[e] we cannot deal historically. The evidence drawn from the date of the epistle of St. Peter's presence at Rome at the time he wrote it is conjectural only, and therefore by itself, and unless supported by other testimony, altogether inconclusive.

Eusebius.

But such testimony, we are told, does exist. Eusebius asserts that St. Peter and St. Paul were both put to death at Rome in the Neronian persecution; and he vouches the burial-places or "trophies" of those apostles as existing in his own days;[f] carrying at the same time the existence of those burial-places almost a century and a half back, upon the authority of Caius, an ecclesiastical writer whose works are no longer extant.[g] He strengthens the presumption arising out of this testimony by a quotation from a letter of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, written between the years 168 and 177, and addressed to the people and clergy of Rome.[h] This letter is a reply to a friendly communication from their bishop Soter, thanking the latter for the interest he has taken in the welfare of the sister church of Corinth; "for (saith he) you have thereby again blended together[i] in one the seed which sprung up from the (joint) sowing

[c] *Eusebius*, Hist. Ecc. lib. ii. c. 15. See Appendix A. at the end of this Book.

[d] *Hieronym.* ad Isaiam xiv. 2.

[e] Conf. *Rev.* xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 10, 21.

[f] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. ii. c. 25.

[g] Caius, he says (loc. cit.), flourished in the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, *i. e.* between the years 202 and 219.

[h] *Euseb.* loc. cit., and conf. lib. iv. c. 23. The epistle was, it seems, addressed to Soter, bishop of Rome, whose reign falls between the years mentioned in the text.

[i] συνεκεράσατε.

of Peter and Paul, (that is to say) the churches of Rome and Corinth; both having first visited our Corinth, and together sown the seed and taught the same thing among us, they proceeded together into Italy; and when they had in like manner taught you also, they suffered martyrdom at the same time."

Clemens.

With a view to introduce the further testimony of Eusebius to the presumed presence of St. Peter at Rome, we must first advert to a remarkable passage in a letter written by Clemens,—the third bishop of Rome, according to the common opinion,[j]—to the church of Corinth. In this epistle the name of Peter occurs once only; but it is mentioned in the closest connection with that of St. Paul. Both are designated as "righteous pillars of the Church;" their common sufferings in the cause of the gospel, their martyrdom and happy translation to the realms of the blessed, are, it is urged, reverently mentioned as parts of the same great transaction. "Like Peter," says this disciple of the great apostle of the Gentiles, "and in the same cause, Paul also received the reward of patience: seven times was he cast into bonds, often was he beaten with rods, and stoned; so that, having been the herald of the gospel in the East and in the West, he received the honours of the faith; for, after that he had taught righteousness throughout the world, and reached unto the extreme verge of the West, he delivered his testimony before the supreme magistrates, and thus passed out of this world and entered the abode of the blessed, having set forth a noble example of patience unto all."[k]

In proof that the facts here stated respecting Peter and Paul are parts of one transaction, it has been observed, that the sufferings and death of both being mentioned, as it were, in the same breath by one who was in a position to be an eye-witness of the things he relates, a presumption arises that both apostles were together at

[j] Clemens was, according to Mr. *Bunsen's* chronology (*Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 44, 2d ed.), bishop between the years 78 and 86. The 1st Ep. of Clemens to the Corinthians is admitted to be, in substance, a genuine document.

[k] *Clem. Rom.* 1 Ep. ad Corinth. § 5, ap. *Cotel.* i. p. 150. See also *Jacobson's* Patres Apostolici, p. 23.

Rome at some point of time between the closing incidents of St. Luke's narrative and the death of Paul in the Neronian persecution. Peter's martyrdom, however, is only remotely alluded to, and not in any way as synchronous with that of Paul. Several things, again, are said of Paul that are not said of Peter, more especially the act of preaching the gospel in the far West.[l] Lastly, neither time nor place of the martyrdom of either is mentioned; consequently all ground for concluding from this passage in the writings of Clemens of Rome that Peter and Paul dwelt and suffered together in that city seems to fall to the ground.

Papias.

We turn, however, from this conjectural proof to statements which may perhaps command a more particular attention. Eusebius of Pamphylia, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, who wrote his Ecclesiastical History about the middle of the fourth century, says that a certain Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, and one of the later contemporaries of the apostles, wrote a work in five books, in which he carefully noted down from the mouths of the disciples all that he could learn respecting the personal demeanour, the acts and sayings of the Lord, as also whatever he could glean from the immediate followers of his apostles. Among other things, this Papias says that he was informed by "John the Presbyter"[m] that Mark the secretary[n] of St. Peter wrote down exactly all that he remembered to have heard from his master of the life and acts of Christ, he (Mark) not having been himself either a hearer or follower of the Lord; but that he did this without following any particular method, because the apostle himself had always framed his instructions for the occasional edification of his hearers, and not with a view to a connected history. The only care of the compiler (Mark) had therefore been not to omit or misrepresent any thing he had so heard.[o]

Presuming this anecdote to have been faithfully re-

[l] See *Shepherd's* History of the Church of Rome, p. 529.

[m] Probably not St. John the Evangelist, but a contemporary elder of some Asiatic church.

[n] Ἑρμηνευτής.

[o] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iii. c. 39.

ported from a genuine work of a bishop of the apostolic age, we connect it with the account Eusebius elsewhere gives of the composition of St. Mark's gospel. The magician or impostor Simon, he tells us, after his exposure by Peter,[p] thinking he had a better chance of successful practice in Rome, repaired to that city, and so effectually imposed upon the Romans, that they erected a statue to him as a divinity; but that not long afterwards, and in the reign of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41 to 54) Divine Providence brought Peter to Rome, who then, in the power of the gospel and by the gifts of miracle, put an end both to the credit and the life of the impostor. His hearers, Eusebius further remarks,—but without telling us whether at Rome or elsewhere,—were so charmed by his instructions, that they entreated his amanuensis Mark to leave them some written memorial of the doctrine they had heard from him; that Mark complied with their request; and that when, "by the revelation of the Holy Ghost," Peter was informed of what his disciple had done, he was so well pleased with the holy zeal of his hearers, that he gave his solemn sanction to the writing, so that it might thereafter be read in the churches. He then mentions a similar account of the composition of St. Mark's gospel from a work of Clement of Alexandria,[q] and adds, that he (Clement) *is confirmed by the evidence to the same effect of Papias bishop of Hierapolis.* In the last place, Eusebius mentions a report current in his time that Mark wrote his gospel at Rome; and observes, that St. Peter seems to intimate something of the kind when, in dating his own epistle, he tropically calls that city "Babylon," in the words, "The church which is at *Babylon* saluteth you, and so doth Marcus my son."

Value of Eusebius's testimony.

From this rather incoherent account we are called upon to believe that Peter received his knowledge of the composition of St. Mark's gospel by personal revelation; consequently that they were not in the same place when it was written. The

[p] *Acts* viii. 18-20.

[q] Bishop of that city at some period between the years 190 and 220.

contradictory suggestion, therefore, of the writer must be set aside. We are, however, principally interested to know for what parts and portions of this story Eusebius was indebted to the testimony of Papias, as derived from his contemporary informant John the Presbyter. It is to be noticed, that all but what he obtained from Papias—excepting perhaps what he may have gleaned from Clement of Alexandria, whose words he does not quote—rests upon the hearsay of his own times. It is, in fact, extremely doubtful whether he ever intended to vouch either Papias or Clement for the facts that "Babylon" stood for Rome in the concluding words of St. Peter's first epistle; or that he followed the impostor Simon to Rome with a view to defeat his diabolical machinations. The evidence of Papias and of Clement seems to be confined to the simple statement that the apostle, then being at a distant place, was supernaturally informed of the composition of St. Mark's gospel, and gave it his sanction; the *place where* it was written remaining a matter of hearsay referable to the times of Eusebius himself.[r]

Ignatius.

But one other witness of the apostolic age has been appealed to in confirmation of the statements, —such as they are, or may be deemed to be,—of Clemens of Rome, and Papias of Hierapolis. Ignatius bishop of Antioch is credibly believed to have been a disciple of the apostle John, and to have been ordained bishop of Antioch in the year 69, therefore after the deaths both of Peter and Paul. At some point of time between the years 107 and 116 of the Christian era,[s] he was condemned by the Emperor Trajan to be thrown to the lions in the amphitheatre at Rome, for professing the faith of Christ.[t] On his long and tedious journey to that city, in the custody of a guard of soldiers, he wrote epistles to several churches, with a view to fortify and encourage them under persecution, and in general to confirm them in the faith for

[r] See Appendix B, at the end of this Book.

[s] The date of the martyrdom of Ignatius is extremely doubtful. Chronologers variously date it from 107 to 116. *Bunsen*, Hipp. vol. i. p. 88. *Jacobson*, Pat. Apost. vol. i. p. 25.

[t] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iii. c. 36.

which he was about to suffer.[u] In his letter to the Romans he says, "I am not, as Peter and Paul were, your teachers; for they were apostles, I am a condemned man; they were free-born men, but I am a slave even to this time; but if I suffer, I am made a freed man of Jesus Christ, and I shall arise in him a free man." The writer in this passage describes Peter and Paul as the *joint* teachers of the Roman converts; and it is affirmed, that unless Ignatius had believed Peter to have visited Rome, and to have instructed the Romans in person, as Paul had certainly done, he would not have thus coupled their names as jointly concerned in the ministry of the gospel there. This intimate association, however, of the names of the two apostles by their contemporaries Clemens and Ignatius has nothing of so positive a character in it as to exclude explanations derived from other sources of information. It has been alleged with great plausibility that the distinctive ministries of each,—that of Peter to the circumcision, and of Paul to the uncircumcision,—had been acknowledged by themselves, and had become a matter of notoriety to the whole Church. These two functions together comprehended one entire ministry, in such wise that the association of the names was in fact rather an association of ideas than of persons. The names Peter and Paul would thus come to represent the community or union of the ministry of the Jews and the Gentiles, the twofold foundations or pillars of the gospel dispensation; a sense in which they are frequently spoken of by subsequent Christian writers.[v]

Trial of testimony.

But we would rather inquire whether the allusions to the names of St. Peter and St. Paul in the letter of Clemens to the Corinthians, and that of Ignatius to the Romans, would have been intelligible to the persons addressed upon any supposition but that of the notoriety of St. Peter's personal residence at Rome with St. Paul, as an apostle and instructor in the faith, at some period or other of his life. If neither

[u] I quote from *Bunsen's* version of Cureton's restored Syriac text of the Ignatian epistles. *Bunsen's* Ignatius, p. 100; *Cureton*, Corp. Ignatian. p. 48. See also *Jacobson*, Patres Apostolici, p. 368.

[v] *Simon*, Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter, p. 46.

passage could have been understood without supposing them to have had full knowledge of the fact of such residence, the evidence that they had that knowledge may turn out too strong to be easily set aside. With reference to the passage in the epistle of Clemens Romanus, it is obvious enough that no such supposition is requisite. The parallel between the two apostles is carried no further than a participation in the sufferings and the triumphs of the Christian warfare. It is a plain story of two persons suffering the same hardships in the same cause, perhaps at the same time, but certainly not necessarily in the same place. It is therefore an arbitrary assumption to suppose such a necessity in order to render the story intelligible to the hearers or readers. The selection of the two names as examples of patience under suffering is fairly explained by that supereminent merit which the Lord himself had assigned to the virtues which Clement was then engaged in recommending to his Corinthian correspondents.

But could the Romans have understood the passage in the epistle which Ignatius addressed to them, if they had not fully believed that St. Peter, as well as St. Paul, had at some time or other resided among them as an instructor in the faith? St. Peter and St. Paul are here spoken of severally, if not jointly, as the teachers and apostles of the Romans. But is it absolutely irrational to believe that they could have been so regarded if it had not been notorious that they had at some time or other personally exercised their apostolic office at Rome? It is not necessary that both should have been known to have resided there at *the same time*, but only at some time or other. But if there be any probable hypothesis upon which we may believe the Romans to have been fully able to understand the allusion of Ignatius, then the proof of St. Peter's residence there as an apostle and instructor becomes at once inconclusive, that is, no certain inference of the fact can be drawn from it one way or the other. Now, it is certain that the Roman Christians consisted in a great part of Jewish converts, to whom St. Peter, as the apostle of the circumcision, could not

have been wholly unknown. If there be no improbability in the supposition that his epistles to the Asiatic churches had, before the date of the epistle of Ignatius, found their way to Rome,—a circumstance in itself more than merely probable,—it is certainly open to us to presume that the Jewish Christians there might well regard him as their apostle and instructor in the faith, and have no difficulty in understanding the allusion of Ignatius, though the apostle had never shown himself personally among them.

It may, however, be said, that Ignatius, in comparing his own condition with that of the apostles—he a condemned convict, shortly to die in the arena; they, freemen and at liberty to carry the gospel tidings whithersoever it pleased them—must have had their personal presence in his mind; for otherwise the principal term of comparison would drop away; as thus—he *was coming* to them as a prisoner; they had dwelt among them as freemen; he could not therefore preach to them as they had done—he might indeed write to them, but could not dwell among them and converse with them as they had dwelt and conversed. Yet the inference will be thought too subtle and far-fetched when we consider the greater probability that the martyr simply desired to present to them in a lively form the contrast between his position and that of their apostolic instructors, without even a distant allusion to the mode in which that instruction was conveyed. "I am not," he said, "an apostle, as they were: I do not come among you to teach you, but to die a witness to the truth they taught you. Do not, therefore, enfeeble me by misplaced sympathy; but rather encourage me by your approbation and your prayers."[w]

The writers to whom our attention has hitherto been directed furnish us with all that can be collected from evangelists, apostles, and primitive fathers, respecting

[w] This seems the more natural drift of the Syriac version, as presented in Bunsen's verbal Latin translation,—"Non factus ut Petrus et Paulus præcipiens ego vobis: illi qui sunt apostoli, ego autem condemnatus: illi quidem filii liberorum (liberi), ego autem servus usque nunc, &c."—*Bunsen's* Ignatius, p. 100. See c. iv. of the Syriac Ms. ap. *Cureton*, p. 48.

the personal presence of St. Peter at Rome. If that question be decided in the affirmative, we can have no difficulty in admitting that he exercised the function of bishop there in the sense in which that office was probably regarded by the earlier converts,—that, namely, of Overseer (ἐπίσκοπος), or general superintendent; though not in the meaning attached to the office at a later period of ecclesiastical history. If, however, the evidence as given above should be thought to fail upon that point, we shall have to inquire further whether there be not later testimony of a more precise and trustworthy character, by an appeal to which, what is dark or obscure in the primitive writers may be cleared up, and a rational basis be laid for the further presumption that St. Peter not only resided at Rome at some period of his life, but that he there exercised episcopal functions in accordance with some such general idea of the office as that entertained by the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, so as to make it transmissible to his successors; and that he did actually so transmit it. And it should be remembered, that the whole title of the Roman Church to exercise that spiritual jurisdiction she afterwards claimed must depend upon the historical proof of the several clauses of this proposition. They constitute, in fact, the basis of the Papal power; and the steps by which they were gradually decided by a majority of the Christian world in favour of Rome must be kept in view at every stage of her history in the order in which they followed each other.

CHAPTER II.

PETER AT ROME?—POST-APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

Apocryphal testimonies—Apostolic documents—Dionysius of Corinth—Irenæus and Justin Martyr — Irenæus — Irenæus on "tradition" — Conflict of testimony — The "founder" — Who were reputed to be "founders" — Peter, as "founder" of the Roman Church — The "Preaching or Proclamation of Peter" — Inconsistencies — Clemens Alexandrinus — Gaius or Caius — Eusebius on Gaius and Dionysius—Anonymous writer against Artemon—Peter, bishop?—Tertullian—Scope of Tertullian's testimony—Apostolical foundations—Fictitious testimonies—"Clementines" and "Recognitions"—Apostolical Constitutions—Cyprian.

Apocryphal testimonies.

It was observed in the foregoing chapter, that besides the passage in the epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, the fragmentary extracts of Eusebius from the lost work of Papias,[a] and the few words quoted from the genuine epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, we find no trustworthy testimony to a visit of St. Peter to Rome within the apostolic age. In later times, indeed, several other documents referable to that age have been vouched to the fact in question. Such are the so-called "Preaching of Peter,"[b] the "Apocalypse of Peter," the "Itinerary of Peter," the Clementine fictions, and the interpolated or corrupted editions of the "Apostolical Canons" and "Constitutions." But all these documents are either too imperfectly known to lead us to any certain conclusion, or they are manifest forgeries, fabricated, as I think will appear hereafter, for a very different purpose, and at such a distance of time as to deprive them of all

[a] A work to which Eusebius himself (lib. iii. c. 39) attached no great value. The eulogium upon Papias, inserted in a prior chapter of the History of Eusebius, is properly regarded as a clumsy interpolation.

[b] Κήρυγμα Πέτρου.

credit as contemporary evidence[c]—or indeed any kind of evidence—of the facts for which they are vouched.

The apostolic age closes with the death of the apostle John. That event took place in or about the year 99 of the Christian era.[d] Contemporaries with him were Barnabas the apostle, Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Papias of Hierapolis (probably), and Hermas the author of the remarkable work entitled "The Shepherd."[e] The testimony of Clement, Papias, and Ignatius to the residence of St. Peter at Rome, as far as it goes, has been already adverted to; and we have here only to observe, that in none of the extant works of the remaining three—Barnabas, Polycarp, and Hermas—do we meet with a vestige of the tradition in question. We go forward, therefore, to the works of the next succeeding generation of Christian writers, with a view to ascertain what evidence may be gleaned from them as to the matter of fact alleged.

Apostolic documents.

The first in order of time is Dionysius bishop of Corinth. Eusebius[f] has preserved a fragment of a letter addressed by that prelate to Soter bishop of Rome, to which we have already alluded. In that document Dionysius acknowledges with gratitude the friendly admonitions of the Romans to the sister church of Corinth upon some occasion not noticed by Eusebius. Regarding the kindly interest taken by Soter and his flock in the welfare of the Corinthians as a revival of the ancient bond of union subsisting between the two churches in the apostolic times, he thus acknowledges the obligation: "So also now you by this your admonition have again blended into one that plantation of the Romans and Corinthians which was first sown by

Dionysius of Corinth.

[c] See Mr. *Simon's* remarks upon the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, in his "Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter," p. 29, 30.

[d] *Euseb.* lib. iii. c. 31. *Winer*, Real-Lexicon. *Art de vér. les dates*, vol. i. *Bunsen*, Hippol. vol. i. p. 50. The year 99 falls in with the last year of Nerva and the first of Trajan.

[e] This Hermas is supposed, though not upon the most satisfactory evidence, to be the same person mentioned by St. Paul (*Rom.* xvi. 14). "The Shepherd" appeared at Rome in the early part of the second century.

[f] H. E. lib. ii. c. 25. Dionysius flourished about the year 170 of our era. He seems to have been a fruitful writer; but none of his works are now extant.

Peter and Paul; for both, having planted *us* here in Corinth, taught us in like manner, and then in like manner and place having taught in Italy, they bore their testimony about the same time."[g] It would be no easy matter to determine whether the "teaching" mentioned in this passage was oral or by writing. Paul had instructed the Romans in both modes; and it may be said of Peter, that he had taught all the churches by his written addresses. Still the mention of Corinth and Rome as the joint plantation of both apostles would, in the ordinary sense of the words, imply a joint or several presence of both in the churches they are said to have *founded*. But the terms used by Dionysius are extremely vague; and it is to be noticed, that this is the first and the only intimation of a participation of Peter in the planting of the church of Corinth we meet with in ecclesiastical history,—that church being otherwise universally regarded as the sole foundation of the apostle Paul. If it should be doubted whether Peter had any personal share in the planting of the church of Corinth, there would also be the same reason to question his presence in Italy as the personal associate of Paul in that country.[h]

The next age presents to us two names of importance to our history. Irenæus was bishop of Lyons in Gaul

[g] Ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθησίας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε· καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν. The rendering of this passage has been the subject of much dispute. I believe that given in the text is as literal as it can be. See the notes of Valesius and others ad loc., ed. Reading, vol. i. p. 84.

[h] The word ὁμόσε — in the same place — on the same spot — creates the difficulty. It seems not an improbable conjecture that the two sections—the Jewish and the Gentile—existing in almost all the larger cities of the empire, were equally anxious to trace the origination of their churches to the personal instrumentality of the great apostles who in their own persons appear to have represented the two dispensations to which they respectively belonged; and that the churches addressed had accustomed themselves to speak, if not to think, of these written instructions as if they had been communicated by word of mouth. The Jewish Christians of Rome and Corinth might say, "Peter told us so and so;" the Gentiles, "Paul told us so and so;" without in the end remembering whether by written or oral delivery. The scarcity of MSS. in those ages would naturally contribute to the mistake. The same mode of quotation is constantly used by ourselves; and it is probably owing more to the multitude of the books we possess than to our own adverteney, that we in our day do not fall into the like error.

about fourteen years after the death of St. Polycarp, whose disciple he had been.[i] He was elected bishop of that flourishing community about the year 178; and is by some supposed to have suffered in the year 202, during the Antonine persecution.[j] The only work of this distinguished father now extant exists in the shape of an imperfect Latin version. It was composed for the purpose of refuting and suppressing the pernicious tenets of that swarm of heretical teachers and religious empirics which had by that time settled upon all the considerable Christian churches, and threatened to smother the pure doctrine of Christ under a heap of mythical speculations invented either to gratify the craving of their hearers to penetrate into the secrets of the Creator, or to minister to their own personal vanity. Justin, surnamed the "Martyr,"[k] wrote, among many other works, most of which have perished, two Apologies for the Christian profession. The only observation his name and writings gives occasion for is, that though he was twice at Rome, no allusion occurs in his two Apologies, or in the extant "Dialogue with Trypho the Jew," to the history of that church. Justin was not, in fact, connected with Rome otherwise than as a visitor, and as the apologist for the general body of the Church. The subject of *church-government*, in truth, attracted very little attention in the second century; and thus it happens that in the Christian writings of that age the testimonies to the outward state of the churches consist of hints and implications from which no certain statements can be made out. The nature and object of Justin's works were unlikely to offer any opening for notices of that kind. The treatise of Irenæus against heresies was equally remote in its scope and character from the subjects of government and discipline. But incidentally it involved an inquiry into the sources of Chris-

Irenæus and Justin Martyr.

Irenæus.

[i] *Iren.* adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. i. § 4.

[j] But this is doubtful. The silence of all the early writers, such as Tertullian, Eusebius, Augustin, and Theodoret, seems to refute the claim to the honours of martyrdom which later writers set up on his behalf. *Smith*, Gr. and Rom. Biog. art. "Irenæus."

[k] Justin appears to have suffered about the year 165. As to his birth, various conjectures place it in the years 103, 114, and 118. See *Smith*, Biog. Dict.

tian tradition, with a view to the overthrow of those dreamy fictions with which the Gnostic heretics had obscured and corrupted it. At this early period, and among the generally uneducated classes of which the Christian association consisted, the doctrines of Christ and his apostles were communicated chiefly by oral instruction, or "preaching." To the preachers, therefore, it was of the last importance to ascertain the purest sources of Christian tradition. Remembering, however, that there were at that time few, if any, men living who had seen or heard the apostles, Irenæus naturally recommended a reference to those Christian bodies which had most recently and most frequently enjoyed the advantage of the presence of an apostle or primitive preacher; or to those churches which from their numbers and importance possessed the best opportunities of collecting authentic information of the facts and doctrines of revelation. Such churches were, indeed, the most likely to possess accurate manuscripts of the writings, or memorandums of the oral instructions of their primitive teachers, and were, therefore, best qualified to supply the knowledge requisite to place the contrast between the pure gospel and the perversions of the heretics in its proper light. Irenæus, in fact, regarded the apostolic model as the outward stamp and seal of a true church; and he inclined to the opinion that that model must be sought in the traditions of those churches which had been governed by and received the oral instructions of an apostle of Christ.

Irenæus on tradition.

"Not to enumerate," he says, "the episcopal successions of all the churches, we are in the habit of confounding objectors by opposing to them the *traditions* which that greatest, most ancient, and best known of all the churches, the church *founded by the glorious apostles Peter and Paul* at Rome, had received from those apostles themselves; and has handed down through a regular succession of bishops to our own days. Therefore it is the duty of every one[1] to resort to that church, on account of its more authorita-

[1] "Necesse est"—a moral necessity, therefore involving a *duty*.

tive pre-eminence[m] in these respects; and such must be the conduct of the faithful wherever they be found; because in that church the traditions handed down from the apostles are received by all around." But Irenæus is not to be understood as referring to the Roman church as the *exclusive* source of authentic tradition. In the section of his work immediately preceding that containing the passage just quoted, he observes, that the *tradition* of the apostles had been published throughout the world; and that in every church those who chose might ascertain what was their genuine doctrine. "He could," he adds, "if he pleased, enumerate all the bishops who had been inaugurated in those churches, and their successors down to his own day, to show that they had taught nothing of all that the heretics had dreamed of; inasmuch, however, as this would be too tedious a process, he had selected the traditions of the Roman church wherewithal to confute the misstatements and to dissipate the delusions of the heretics." The passage, therefore, taken together with this declaration, gives no preference to the traditions of Rome in respect of purity or authenticity; but recommends them rather, for convenience of reference and notoriety, as well as upon the ground of custom, to the Christians of her own vicinity.

But the *association* of the names of Peter and Paul as the *founders* of the church of Rome affords, it will be thought, a strong ground for presuming the presence of the former in Rome, at some period of his life, in the character of a "beginner" or founder. This inference will be conceived to derive additional strength from the like association of the two names by Clemens and Ignatius, and from the report of Papias.[n] It happens, however, that we are in possession of a fragment of the Greek original of the work of Irenæus, which plainly connects the period within which Peter and Paul were engaged in founding the church in Rome with the point of time at which St. Matthew composed his gospel. "For, in-

[m] "Potentiorem principalitatem"—probably the Latin rendering of the Greek κρείττονα ἀρχήν, according to *Griesbach*, apud *Beavan*, "Irenæus," p. 63.

[n] Chap. i. pp. 21, 24 of this work.

deed," he says, "Matthew published to the Hebrews in their own dialect a writing of the gospel, while Peter and Paul were evangelising and founding the church in Rome. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and secretary of Peter, handed down to us the matters and things preached by Peter."[o] Now the gospel of St. Matthew was certainly written at a very early period—probably not more than five or six years after our Lord's ascension—and therefore long before either of the apostles had visited Rome.[p] If this be true, it is manifest that neither Peter nor Paul could have been at Rome when they founded the church there, consequently Irenæus could not have conceived the personal presence of the apostles as necessary to the founding of a church at Rome, or any where else.

Conflict of testimony.

In fact it has been found, that the only mode of meeting the difficulty arising out of the conflict of the earlier traditions respecting the founding of the church in Rome, is by selecting some one of the extant notices already adverted to, and fitting all the rest to it. Thus, several writers of the Roman communion have adopted the report of Papias, as supplied by Eusebius,[q] and assumed that the passage in Irenæus necessarily implies the *personal* presence of St. Peter; consequently, it is contended, that apostle must have resided there about, or shortly after, the composition of St. Matthew's gospel; that he quitted the city when Claudius expelled the Jews, and returned thither to seal his testimony at some subsequent period of his life. But the report from Eusebius labours, as already appears, under serious difficulty. If that difficulty were

[o] *Irenæus* adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. i. ap. *Simon*, Miss. and Martyrd. &c. p. 20.

[p] The report of Papias brings the apostle Peter to Rome in the reign of Claudius, some time between the years 41 and 49. St. Paul did not appear there till 64. Now, as to the composition of St. Matthew's gospel, the grounds assigned by biblical critics, both of the Roman and Reformed professions, in favour of an early date for that work, are clear almost to demonstration. The earliest and most probable date—that of Dr. *Townson*—is A.D. 37. Baronius, Calmet, and Ceillier assign the year 41—probably because it jumps in with the report of Papias. *Tillemont* inclines to the earliest date, viz. three years only after the crucifixion; Mém. Eccl. tom. i. p. 395-6. Eusebius, in his Chronicle, says it was published in the third year of the Emperor Caligula, A.D. 39—not A.D. 41, as Horne puts it: see *Horne*, Introd. &c. vol. iv. pp. 262 et sqq.

[q] *Baron.* Ann. Eccl. A. 41. § 15.

cleared up to the satisfaction of the inquirer, he has still to encounter two others, arising, first, from the date of St. Matthew's gospel, and secondly, from the doubt he cannot help entertaining as to the *necessity* of Peter's personal presence in Rome for the purpose of founding a church there. With regard to the former of these difficulties, it may be urged, that a chronological discrepancy of barely two years is inconsiderable;[r] but as to the latter, much must depend upon the idea of the age as to what constituted a "*founder*" of a church; and whether in fact the personal presence of the reputed founder was in all cases essential to invest him with that character.[s] Though we may not be able to give a decisive answer to these questions, one or two facts may be adverted to, to assist us to some one conclusion, equally probable with any other. We find, for instance, the apostle Peter active in the establishment of a Christian church at Antioch; but as to the founding of that church, we know that his colleagues in the apostleship had at least an equal share in the good work. He is in the same way said to have founded the church of Alexandria; not personally, but through his disciple Mark the Evangelist.[t] On the authority of the fragment quoted by Eusebius from the letter of bishop Dionysius, Corinth has been classed among the churches founded by Peter; though it would be difficult to dispute the priority of Paul; and still more so, to show that there was no Christian church there before the arrival of either. With reference to the foundation of the Roman church, we know that a Christian association had existed there before it was visited by any apostle; and that in all probability Christianity was introduced there by persons no otherwise qualified than as hearers and followers of the first heralds of the gospel—possibly by those very "strangers from Rome" who had heard St.

The founder.

[r] It lies between the years 39 and 41 of our era.

[s] The principal clauses in the passages in *Irenæus* adv. Hæreses, just alluded to, run thus: the Latin text—"Maxima et antiquissima et omnibus cognita, a gloriosissimis apostolis Paulo et Petro Romæ *fundita* et constituta ecclesia, &c.;" the Greek—Τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.

[t] *Euseb.* lib. ii. cap. 16. *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 92.

Peter on the day of Pentecost. In the same manner, the apostle John is often regarded as the founder of the church at Ephesus, though he had long before been anticipated by St. Paul.

Who were reputed "founders."

The senses in which the Greek words which we render by the terms "to found" and "foundations" were used by the earlier Christians, may perhaps throw some light upon this question.[u] We adverted in the preceding chapter to some of those significations; and we observed, that when used in the sense of one who had made a good or successful beginning in the work of the gospel, as also in that of a person of great distinction and merit in the establishment of the church, the metaphor was very properly applied to St. Peter.[v] But when it is applied to a particular church, such as Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Rome, the historical impropriety of calling him the founder of these churches in the sense of a beginner of what had never existed there before is obvious. On the other hand, there is no such impropriety in regarding him as a person of great distinction and merit in the establishment of those churches, or either of them. But this use of the word "founder" by no means implies his personal presence, any more than his exclusive agency in that operation.

Peter as founder of the Roman church.

Agreeably with this view, a very probable hypothesis occurs to us, upon which Peter might be regarded as the "founder" of the church at Rome without his having been present there at any period of his life. There is every probability that some one or more of the Jewish visitors or "strangers from Rome," present in Jerusalem at the great feast of Pentecost,—and perhaps also some of those who were

[u] The words are θεμελιόω, literally "to lay a foundation;" and θεμέλιος, "a foundation."

[v] The sense in which the word θεμέλιος is used by St. Paul (*Eph.* ii. 20-22) seems to have been that in which it was most generally understood. In that passage the *persons* of the founders are of no account; the "apostles and prophets," as the organs of revelation, are in one sense perhaps the founders; but they are so only in that character. Therefore the *doctrine* of the apostles and prophets is *the foundation* adverted to. The association of apostles with prophets seems to make this clear, since the prophets could take no personal part in laying the foundations of a Christian church. In the most striking instance of the use of the word, as it occurs in 1 *Cor.* iii. 11, θεμέλιον τέθεικα, κ. τ. λ., the *principles* or *doctrines*, rather than the persons of the founders, are obviously understood.

afterwards scattered abroad by the persecution which occurred in the days of Stephen,—carried back with them the glad tidings of the gospel; and so became the "first beginners" of a Christian church at Rome. It can hardly be doubted that Peter's converts on the former of these occasions returned to their homes with a profound reverence for the wonderful person whose words had so deeply affected, and so greatly comforted and enlightened them. The earliest and the strongest convictions of the Christian congregation at Rome would thus become intimately connected with the name and person of Peter; in such a state of mind his doctrine would be readily identified or confounded with the preacher himself, and in this form both would be handed down in conjunction to their successors in the faith he had preached; and in this way, naturally enough, an anchoring-ground would be obtained for any tradition which would serve to bring the object of their reverence and affection into closer personal relation with the body of his grateful converts.

The "Preaching of Peter."

And it happens, in fact, that before the close of the second century certain writings were in circulation purporting to proceed from the pens of the apostles Peter and Paul, which writings no one ever dreamed of classing among the canonical books of the new revelation; but which, owing to their proximity in point of composition to the events and matters they treated of, and probably also to the respectability of the sources whence they were derived, were generally received and read as useful and edifying memorials of the sayings and doings of the apostles and primitive teachers.[w]

[w] These writings were, however, partly spurious, and were so admitted to be in the fourth century. Besides the "Preaching of Peter" (Κήρυγμα Πέτρου) other books were attributed to him, such as the "Acts of Peter," the "Gospel of Peter," and the "Revelation of Peter." None of these, *Eusebius* tells us, were ever received as authentic writings; though the "Preaching of Peter" is frequently quoted by Clement of Alexandria as genuine. Origen, however, rejects it. *Eusеb.* H. E. lib. iii. c. 3; *Fabricius*, Cod. Apocryph. N. T. vol. i. p. 797; id. vol. ii. p. 655. *Lactantius* (born about the middle of the third century, died within the first twenty years of the fourth century) mentions a "Proclamation of the apostles Peter and Paul," published before the destruction of Jerusalem, and reduced to writing for a warning to all Christians, at Rome and elsewhere, in which Christ is represented as disclosing the approaching downfall of the city to his disciples. *Lactant.* Div. Instit. lib. iv. c. 21. These writings appear to have occasioned no little perplexity to the fathers of the third and fourth centuries.

Among these, that which was known by the title of the "Preaching of Peter," Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, seems to have enjoyed the highest respect. A closer view of the mental habits of the early churches discloses a very apparent tendency to that species of pious fiction which afterwards so fatally degenerated into fraud and forgery. Though the work itself may not have been originally imputed to the personal authorship of St. Peter, yet it was very likely to have been afterwards understood by the uninstructed mass to have been written by him. Thus it would serve to bring his name into immediate connection with the churches in which it was read and published, and would be accepted by them as the "foundation" of that faith which he had preached. In this way the impression would become general, that the subject-matter of these writings had been taken down from his lips, and on the spot, by those who had heard him deliver them. Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, and Rome, all claimed Peter in some sense as their founder; and it is extremely likely that the writings in question contributed greatly to keep alive that notion, and ultimately to obliterate in their minds the distinction between personal and written instruction.

Inconsistencies.

But the reader is reminded, that this explanation of the enigmatical notices in the earlier Christian writers respecting St. Peter's presence in Rome as the founder of that church, is not offered as a conclusive solution of the doubts which those notices must give rise to. All we say of it is, that it is at least equally probable with that which presumes the apostle to have resided in Rome, and to have independently established a Christian church there. And we may further observe, that if his name as founder be associated at all with that of St. Paul in the same character—the latter having unquestionably been a resident in Rome *as a founder*—the sole pretensions of Peter to have been such founder cannot be historically sustained; Rome can be said to be the "See of Peter" with no greater propriety than it could be called the See of Paul; and in that case the solution of the difficulty involved in the first of

these denominations, as applied to the Roman pontificate, must depend wholly upon the truth or falsehood of the dogmatic exposition of the words addressed by Christ to Peter, spoken to in the first chapter of this Book.[x] For if the two apostles be regarded as joint-founders, St. Peter's primacy must depend upon his dominant position as the divinely-appointed prince and chief of the apostles; and this is indeed the ground upon which that primacy is usually contended for by the Roman advocates.

Clement of Alexandria.

Shortly after the close of the second century Clement bishop of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius[y] as a witness to the order in which the gospel of St. Mark followed in the series of the gospels. The work quoted from is no longer extant,[z] but the words of Clement are reported, as it should seem, verbatim. Clement there says that he had collected from the traditions of the primitive elders[a] that the gospels containing the genealogies were the first composed; and that the following was the occasion of that according to Mark: After that *Peter had in public proclaimed the word in Rome*, and announced the gospel through the Spirit, those present, being numerous, called upon Mark, who, from having been Peter's follower for a long time, remembered his words, to write down what the apostle had preached. Mark therefore, having written his gospel, handed it over to those who had applied to him for it. Which design, when it became known to Peter, he neither forbade nor encouraged it.[b] It is contended by some that Peter must have been at Rome to satisfy the terms of this notice. And if the Greek word *κηρύσσειν*, "to proclaim as a herald," necessarily implies the presence of the proclaimer upon the spot where the proclamation

[x] The *petitio principii* involved in such an explanation cannot escape the intelligent reader; yet it is that of Baronius, Bellarmine, and almost all the most celebrated dogmatists of the Roman communion.

[y] H. E. lib. vi. c. 14.

[z] It bore the title of Ὑποτυπώσεις, "Sketches;" or, as Cassiodorius calls them, "Institutiones."

[a] Παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων.

[b] The material words in this passage run thus: τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον, κ.τ.λ. The concluding clause contradicts what is said in lib. ii. c. 14. Peter, it is there said, highly approved of the act of Mark, and confirmed it by his authority, so that it might be read in the churches.

is made, we must suppose Clement to have so understood his informants. The word, however, is frequently used to denote written as well as oral announcement.[c] In the ecclesiastical writers especially it very commonly denotes the making public any matter of importance,[d] and in this sense it seems to have been taken in the lost work, entitled Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, "The Preaching of Peter," to which we have already adverted. It has, however, been urged, that the passage quoted implies the presence of Peter at Rome when St. Mark wrote his gospel. But the words in themselves do not indeed bear out the supposition, neither is there any authentic tradition that the gospel of St. Mark was written at Rome;[e] yet, whether this be so or not, it by no means follows that what St. Mark, the companion and friend of Peter, took down from his mouth was uttered at Rome, rather than that it was enounced on any other of the numberless opportunities enjoyed by the evangelist of collecting the testimony of the apostle to the facts he records. It is not improbable that the tradition derived from the gossip of Papias lies at the bottom of this story of Clement.[f]

Though Eusebius, to whom we are indebted for these scattered notices touching a presumed visit of St. Peter to Rome, in most instances guards himself against any positive statement of that fact upon his personal credit, yet he leaves us in no doubt of his own

Gaius.

[c] *Stephens*, in his Thesaurus, says that the word is frequently used to signify "to *cause* proclamation to be made of any thing, as well as to be the proclaiming person." Not only those, he adds, who literally use their voices in announcing any thing to the public, but also those who authorise them to do so, are said to proclaim. "Κηρύσσειν dicuntur sæpe non ipsi κήρυκες, sed ii qui eos κηρύσσειν jubent." See *Simon*, Mission and Martyrdom, &c. p. 82.

[d] *Liddell*, Lex. ad voc. κηρύσσειν.

[e] The general notion is that it was written in Egypt. There is, however, an equivocal passage in *Epiphanius*, cont. Hæres. 51, from which it seems that he understood Mark to have been solicited by the disciples "at Rome" to do as Matthew had before done at the request of the Hebrews. Chrysostom says expressly that Mark's gospel was written in Egypt. Jerome says the same; but concurs with Epiphanius in the statement that the request was made "at Rome;" afterwards complied with in Egypt. *Simon*, ubi sup. p. 83.

[f] Ch. i. of this Book, pp. 21, 22. It is to be observed, that neither Dionysius of Corinth, nor Irenæus, nor Clement of Alexandria, even if they may be presumed to have believed that St. Peter had been at some time or other at Rome, mention or allude to the supposed occasion of his presence there, viz. the pursuit of the magician Simon. To this story, however, we shall have to revert, in connection with the apocryphal writings sometimes attributed to the third century of the Christian era.

belief, and that of the age in which he lived. He believed, no doubt, that St. Peter had followed the magician Simon to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and that, many years afterwards, both he and St. Paul had suffered martyrdom at Rome in the Neronian persecution. He points to cenotaphs or monuments upon which their names were engraved, and confirms the truth of his statement by the authority of a writer named Gaius or Caius, who wrote a work against the Cataphrygian schismatics in the days of Zephyrinus bishop of Rome.[g] From the work of this Gaius, Eusebius quotes a passage which he (Eusebius) understands to relate to the apostles Peter and Paul, in the following terms: "I am able," says Gaius, "to show you the monuments of the apostles: for if you will accompany me to the Vatican or to the Via Ostia, you will see the trophies of those who founded this church." Eusebius thus comments upon the words of Gaius: "Moreover," he says, "Dionysius bishop of Corinth, writing to the Romans, testifies that both the apostles suffered martyrdom (there) at one and the same time." It is, however, pretty clear, that unless the writers whom he vouches had said something more upon the subject than the words quoted contain, the statement must dwindle into a simple conjecture on the part of Eusebius himself. Dionysius, in this extract, does not say that Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at one and the same time at Rome; nor does Gaius say more than that the monuments or trophies of the apostles were still to be seen at the places to which he points.[h] But Eusebius, it should be observed, gives these extracts as authority, not merely for the simultaneous death of the two apostles at Rome, but also for the manner of it. "So likewise," he says, "we are told[i] that Paul was beheaded at Rome, and that Peter was crucified (there) in his (Nero's) reign;" which tradition, he adds, is abundantly confirmed by the evidence of Gaius and Dionysius in the terms quoted, al-

Eusebius on Gaius and Dionysius.

[g] Zephyrinus was bishop between the years 202 and 219, according to the common chronology.

[h] *Euseb.* H. E. lib ii. c. 25. See App. C, at the end of this Book.

[i] ἱστοροῦνται, "they are said," &c.

though not a word respecting those circumstances occurs in his authorities. In the result we arrive therefore at the conclusion that Eusebius, reporting a tradition which existed in the middle of the fourth century respecting the time and place of the martyrdom of the two apostles, found the passages he quotes in the writings of Dionysius and Gaius, and rather rashly advanced them as "ample confirmation" of the veracity of the current tradition.

Anonymous against Artemon.

And, in truth, no positive or circumstantial statement of the tradition of St. Peter's residence and martyrdom at Rome is to be met with in any Christian writer prior to the age of Eusebius. Though he was himself convinced of the authenticity of the tradition, yet the poverty of his proofs shows clearly enough that it had not made that impression upon the Christian public, or attained to that maturity in their minds which so important a fact, if only tolerably well supported, would lead us to expect. All the testimonies he produces are either vague allusions to a state of things upon which some conjecture of the kind might be built, or they are deficient in some one or more of the material particulars for which they are vouched. The more modern controversialists resort to his works as the mine of tradition upon this subject; and have produced to us, with a view to this tradition, a passage from his writings of which he himself did not perceive the bearing. One Artemon, it seems, had maintained that Christ was a mere man; and alleged that this doctrine had been received and taught in its purity at Rome down to the age of bishop Victor, who, says the anonymous author of the refutation, "was the thirteenth bishop of Rome *after Peter*, &c."[j] But neither Eusebius himself, nor any other ecclesiastical writer of that, or of many succeeding ages, when they speak of the bishops of Rome as successors of the apostles, or of Rome as the foundation of the apostles, have been understood to affirm that either of them was *the first bishop* of that city; or that an apostle was in any sense to be regarded

Peter bishop?

j *Euseb.* H. E. lib. v. c. 28.

as belonging to the episcopal order. The only question is, does the act of dating the succession from Peter imply the belief of the writer that Peter had ever resided at Rome? That the writer *may* have so believed cannot be questioned; but, as we have seen that the apostle was regarded as the beginner of several churches where there is no reason to think he had ever resided, it admits of serious doubt whether this is not another instance of a habit of personifying the Church-catholic under the name of Peter not uncommon in the earlier ages, and much more so in that of Eusebius[k] and the succeeding writers.

Tertullian.

The mention of the name of Tertullian in connection with the traditional relation of St. Peter to the church of Rome again brings up the remark that—with the exception of the strange gossip collected by Eusebius, principally from Papias, about St. Peter's pursuit of Simon Magus, and the composition of St. Mark's gospel—no witness to the fact of Peter's presence in Rome at any period of his life has been produced earlier than Eusebius himself; and that *he* only speaks to a belief founded upon the infirm statements and vague allusions to which we have already adverted. The African father Tertullian is, however, enlisted as a witness to show a prevailing tradition in his age that St. Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, and consequently that he must have resided there some time before his death. In a work generally ascribed to Tertullian,[l] he adopts the canon of Irenæus;[m] namely, that when a necessity should arise to ascertain the purest sources of Christian tradition, reference should be had to those churches which had most recently and most frequently enjoyed the presence and instructions of an apostle of Christ.

[k] In the 28th chap. of the fifth book of his Eccl. Hist., he observes, with reference to the canon of Scripture, that though "Peter was *as it were the foundation upon which the Church of Christ was built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*, yet he had left only one epistle behind him that had been received with the consent of all men."

[l] "De Præscriptione Hæreticorum"—a work probably written before he seceded to the Montanist schismatics. See *Smith*, Biog. Dict. art. "Tertullianus." *Mr. Shepherd* (Hist. of the Ch. of Rome, p. 521) throws doubt upon the authenticity of the work.

[m] See p. 39 of this chapter.

He therefore, for that purpose, refers the Christians of Greece to Corinth; those of Macedonia, to Philippi or to Thessalonica; those of Asia, to Ephesus; and the people of Italy to Rome. In an outburst of enthusiastic joy at this merciful provision for the instruction of the universal Church, he thus apostrophises that church: "O happy church, over which the apostles poured out the whole volume of their doctrine, and watered with their blood! Happy church, in which Peter emulated his Lord in the manner of his passion—in which Paul was crowned with the death of John the Baptist—in which John the apostle, after emerging unscathed from the cauldron of boiling oil, was banished to his (desolate) island!"[n]

A work upon "Baptism" by the same writer, but probably written at a later period of his life, contains a passage rather more to the purpose. The water wherewith men are baptised, he there contends, is a matter of indifference; the water, he says, of any stream is, for that purpose, as efficacious as the water of Jordan in which John baptised; and he asks, how any difference could exist between those whom John baptised in the Jordan and *those whom Peter baptised in the Tiber?*[o]

Later still, in a work entitled "Scorpiace,"[p] he observes, that "in reading the lives of the Cæsars, we find that Nero was the first to dye with blood the rising faith at Rome: then it was that Peter fulfilled the Lord's prophecy respecting the manner of his death, that, namely, 'he should be bound by another,' when he was affixed to the cross: then it was that Paul entered into the fullborn citizenship of Rome, when he was thus regenerated in the noble birth of martyrdom." A tract against Marcion, by the same writer, speaks of the Roman Christians as persons "to whom Peter and Paul had bequeathed the gospel sealed with their blood."[q]

The first of these four passages throws no light upon what was the personal belief of Tertullian, within the first

[n] *Tertull.* de Præsc. Hæret. c. 36.—The story of the immersion and safe exit of St. John from the cauldron of boiling oil is, I believe, abandoned by all judicious critics as a baseless fiction. *Winer*, Real-Lex. vol. i. p. 697 note (2).

[o] *Tertull.* de Baptism. c. 4.

[p] Ch. 15. A tract on the merit of martyrdom.

[q] *Tertull.* adv. Marcion. c. 6.

half of the third century, respecting the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome. The second would raise a presumption that he believed St. Peter to have conferred baptism in the waters of the Tiber. The third simply indicates the period of time in which both apostles sealed their testimony with their blood; and the fourth describes the church at Rome as their joint foundation. The only facts asserted are, that St. Peter was crucified, that St. Paul was beheaded, and that St. John was cast into boiling oil and came out unharmed; that, as to Peter and Paul, they had suffered in the reign of Nero; and that the Roman Christians had received from them that gospel which they (the apostles) had afterwards sealed with their blood. The *time* of their martyrdom is thus loosely indicated; the *place* is left to be inferred from the juxtaposition of the two names in connection with the facts stated, and from the incidental allegation of a suppositious case with a view to illustrate a widely different subject. It may, indeed, be urged that, as the baptism by John in the river Jordan was a notorious fact, Tertullian's argument required that the antithesis or illustration should be supported by an equally well-known matter of fact; and that he selected the practice of Peter to baptise in the Tiber as best known to the Latin churches. But, after all that may be said respecting the bearing of these allusive quotations upon the question of St. Peter's residence and death at Rome, the personal belief of the writer, and of the age in which he lived, remains a matter of conjecture,—conjecture, it should be remembered, unsupported by any positive or authentic testimony to a matter of such alleged notoriety and such serious importance in the actual state of ecclesiastical opinion. That opinion, as we shall hereafter have occasion to show, attached a peculiar reverence and a higher authority to those churches which were of reputed apostolical foundation; that is, in which an apostle of Christ had first preached the gospel and organised a church. Though upon strictly historical grounds, there was but one, or at the utmost two churches of any magnitude or import-

Scope of the testimony of Tertullian.

Apostolical foundations.

ance, in which the earliest members were converts to the preaching of an apostle in person, or in which an apostle was strictly a beginner or originator, yet within the third century the notion had become very common that the bare presence of an apostle invested the church which had been so favoured with a spiritual supremacy, founded not so much upon the superior purity of its traditions, as upon the mere reputation of *apostolicity of origin*. Thus every great church was ambitious of such an origin. Jerusalem possessed the privilege beyond question; Antioch and Alexandria, Corinth and Rome claimed it; and the choice of a founder may naturally be supposed to have fallen upon one whom his Lord had so highly distinguished, and who, as the senior among his apostles, was supposed to possess that influence or presidency which age, experience, and zeal, would impart. The greater churches proudly traced their pedigree up to the *first* in rank of the apostles; and in referring to that pedigree, involuntarily spoke of their founder as personally present among them,—a practice which falls in exactly with that habit of symbolical representation which was then creeping into use, and now causes serious perplexity to those who desire to distinguish between the truths and the fictions of the ecclesiastical records of this and of the subsequent ages.

Fictitious testimonies.

But this important feature in the annals of the early Church will be made more apparent in the remarks which we shall have occasion to offer upon the fictitious documents generally assigned to the third and fourth centuries. We have already adverted to a variety of spurious writings attributable to this period of Church-history, such as the "Preaching of Peter," the "Gospel of Peter," the "Acts of Peter," and the "Revelation of Peter,"—all tending to adumbrate a character in St. Peter very different from that which he bore among his colleagues within their lifetime, or in the primitive apostolic estimation.[r] In those writings we meet with the earliest traces of that fatal propensity to resort to fiction, perhaps at first with a view to edification,

[r] See chap. ii. p. 28 of this Book.

or in the interests of truth. But such an alliance is at all times dangerous: intentions are frail things; and when questionable means are adopted to carry them into effect, they are very apt soon to partake of the nature of the means, and to become as corrupt as they. Of the documents just adverted to we know no more than that they were in circulation, probably at Rome, within the first century of the Christian era, and that their authors endeavoured to recommend them, equally to Jews and Romans, by publishing them under the names of the two great apostles of the Gentiles and of the dispersion. This propensity was, indeed, closely akin to the love of allegorical exposition and impersonation which infected all the Christian sects alike during the second century, and still more so in the third;[s] and it produced results very different from what the first innocent enlistment of the inventive faculties in the cause of truth might have led us to expect.[t]

Clementines, Recognitions, &c.

And, in fact, about the middle of the third century the Christian world swarmed with writings passing under the names of the apostles[u] and their primitive followers; among which we particularly notice two works which appeared under the name of Clement of Rome, afterwards known by the titles of the "*Clementina*," and the "*Recognitions of St. Clement.*" No doubt of the fictitious character of these productions is now entertained by any party among Christians. It is also equally well understood that the original form in which they appeared—and probably also their contents—were very different from that they

[s] The "Shepherd" of Hermas may be put as an instance of this mode of instruction. Harmless and even useful as that work may have been in its day, it indulged the prevalent disposition to mysticism, which had, even within the first century, produced a crop of heresies which threatened to overgrow and choke the good seed even before it had well sprung up. And, in fact, religious fiction always tends to engage the imagination at the expense of the understanding and reflecting powers of men; it substitutes visions for truths, and creates a distaste for plain statement and laborious inquiry. Our own "Pilgrim's Progress" cannot be exempted from this serious charge.

[t] See *Bunsen*, Hippolyt. vol. i. p. 107, sec. ed., on the probable origin of allegorical glosses. See also vol. i. p. 120.

[u] Besides those already enumerated, pp. 28, 46, we may add here the pretended "Apocalypse of Peter," and the "Itinerary of Peter"—a regular novel, says *M. Bunsen* (Hippolyt. vol. i. p. 120), framed from the so-called Κήρυγμα Πέτρου.

assumed when latinised by Ruffinus towards the end of the fourth century. They are, however, sometimes insisted upon as evidence of the facts they recite, upon the ground that, although fictitious in their form, they are not intentional impostures, and were unquestionably the productions of a very early period of the Christian history. And, indeed, if the alterations in form be proved not to have affected the contents, the plea might be admitted; but as they cannot now be identified under the several forms they may have assumed, they forfeit necessarily all character for authenticity, and can stand, at the utmost, only as evidence of the faith or credulity of the age in which they saw the light as *we* now see them.

Clementine or Apostolical Constitutions.

Both the Clementines and the Recognitions have been produced in proof of St. Peter's pursuit of Simon the magician to Rome for the purpose of putting an end to his impostures; but they are now so universally repudiated as evidence of the facts they depose to, that any further notice of them seems superfluous. But a third work, purporting to proceed from the same hand, deserves rather more serious attention. This production passes under the title of the "*Clementine, or Apostolical Constitutions.*" With respect to age and date of composition, it is now generally agreed, that it cannot have been written less than a century and a half after the death of the last of the apostles; and that, at all events, it must be referred to a state of the Church altogether different from that of the apostolic age. But, in point of form, the Apostolical Constitutions appear to contain instructions imparted by the apostle Peter to his supposed disciple Clement, and purporting to have been taken down verbatim from his lips by the latter; propounding ample and minute directions respecting the indoctrination, government, discipline, and ritual of the Church-catholic. The fictitious character of the work may not indeed operate so as to cast it back among the mass of vulgar forgeries to which we have before alluded; yet it is obvious that it is inadmissible as contemporary evidence of the facts it deposes to; and that it can only

be used as a link in the chain of tradition referable to the age to which its composition may be traced.

But with regard to the personal presence of St. Peter at Rome, the "Constitutions" contain a single notice, and *that* of a very equivocal character. In the forty-sixth chapter of the seventh book, the words following are put into the mouth of the apostle Peter: "Now concerning those bishops which have been ordained[v] by us in our lifetime, we make known unto you that they are the following, viz. James of Jerusalem, the brother of the Lord; and after his death, Simeon the son of Cleophas was bishop there; after him, the third was Judas the son of James; of Cæsarea in Palestine, Zaccheus the publican was the first bishop; after him, Cornelius; and the third, Theophilus; but of Antioch, Evodius was (ordained) by me Peter, but Ignatius by Paul. Again, at Alexandria, Annianus was ordained by Mark the evangelist; and next after him, Avilius by Luke, who was also an evangelist. Of the Roman church, Linus the son of Claudia, the first bishop, was ordained by Paul; but the second, after the death of Linus, was ordained by me Peter, &c." The list closes with the words —"These are the bishops who were intrusted by us in the Lord to preside over the churches."[w]

This passage does not, however, import more than that, in the third and fourth centuries, it was believed, or intended by the writers to be believed, that St. Peter had, by the laying on of his hands, ordained Clement bishop of Rome; and it is improbable that the compilers, or authors, would have ventured upon such a statement if they had not thought the world in some sort prepared to receive it by antecedent tradition. But when it is asked, how does such ordination conduce to strengthen a tradition that Peter *was at Rome* when he ordained Clement? we can only reply, that we know of no period in the history of the ecclesiastical polity in which it was deemed essential to a valid ordination that the bishop should be

[v] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν χειροτονηθέντων ἐπισκόπων, κ.τ.λ. V. *Cotel.* Pat. Apost. tom. i p. 385.

[w] Παροικίας — surrounding districts —circumjacent territories of the towns or cities giving their names to the churches.

consecrated *within* the diocese to which he was appointed. We cannot, therefore, consent to admit this citation as evidence to prove the existence even of a traditional belief that Peter was present in Rome when he is supposed to have ordained Clement bishop of that city. Still it may be alleged, to show the existence of such a belief in some kind of connection of an intimate character between St. Peter and the church of Rome; but even in this view, the testimony must be taken with all the infirmities clinging to it—its fictitious form, and the uncertainty attaching to the contents at the different periods of its existence.

Cyprian.

The works of Cyprian, who was bishop of Carthage between the years 248 and 258 of the Christian era, have been sometimes quoted to show the presence of St. Peter at Rome as head of that church. But the passages in his writings usually appealed to for that purpose must come under review in a subsequent chapter, in connection with the growth and development of the theory of St. Peter's chair. It is only to be here observed, that the evidence commonly extracted from these passages is of the same equivocal character with that of the preceding and contemporary writers who have been cited to prove the point in question; it results in inference only, unsupported by that uniformity in idea or language which would lead us to believe that the writer attached any such meaning to the words quoted.[x]

[x] Conf. *Simon.* Miss. and Martyrd. &c. p. 116.

CHAPTER III.

EPISCOPACY.

Petrine primacy—First bishops of Rome—Linus, Anencletus, Clemens—Mode of appointment—Clement's letter to the Corinthians—Bearing of this letter, &c. —Clementine parallel—Its several aspects—Intent of the parallel—Its adaptation—Objections—Probable views and intent of St. Clement—Separation of clergy and laity—Primitive church-constitution—Ignatius and Polycarp—Eusebian list of the epistles of Ignatius?—Original text of Ignatius—Primitive episcopacy—Polycarp to the Philippians—Church-constitution according to the pseudo-Ignatius—Pseudo-Ignatian scheme—Hierarchical tendencies —Hieratic ministry—Origin of the Ignatian forgeries.

The alleged primacy of the apostle Peter may be historically treated either as a claim to a general superintending power or supreme authority in the Church aggregate, therefore not necessarily annexed to any particular see, and in that respect represented by every see holding that *doctrine* of Peter "upon which the Church was built;" or as a power appertaining to St. Peter in his character of resident bishop of Rome, and, by virtue of the episcopal office, transmissible and transmitted to his successors. It will, I believe, turn out no very difficult matter to decide to which of these two views the earlier testimonies presented to us in support of the Petrine primacy are most correctly applicable. The material issue here is, whether, in the opinion of the witnesses themselves, St. Peter was to be regarded as first bishop of Rome; to which end they must have presumed him to have been resident there; and whether by virtue of that residence they believed him to have conferred upon his successor, the bishop of that see, all the powers he might be presumed to have derived from the Lord himself. The Petrine primacy.

First bishops of Rome.

Such, however, is the substance of the claim set up on behalf of Rome in the fourth, and brought to maturity in the fifth century; its *extent* and further expansion depending obviously upon the fuller development of the idea of the powers conferred by Christ upon Peter in the mind of the Roman pontiffs; and the impression they were enabled to produce upon the great body of the Christian people. And here it might be expected that the historian should endeavour to connect that development with the history of the earlier bishops of Rome. They, the holders of the Petrine powers,—if indeed they were conscious of any such lofty commission,—might, like their spiritual progenitor, have been expected to take some interest in the establishment and maintenance of their divine prerogative: we might have expected from them at least some declaration, some decisive act, some explicit assertion of right, with a view to keep up an abiding sense of obligation or duty in the minds of the subject churches. Yet, in point of fact, it is hardly possible to conceive a more perfect blank than that which the history of the Roman pontiffs of the first three centuries presents. From the first bishop of Rome upon record down to the General Council held at Nicæa in Bithynia in the year 325, we count up a series of thirty-two bishops, of whom there are not more than two or three to whose names or persons any incident of the smallest importance attaches. We must therefore look elsewhere for information to fill up this immense gap in what we may call the native source of intelligence. Fortunately several documents of greater or less authenticity remain, from which the progress of ecclesiastical opinion may be traced, though not with that precision and certainty with which the more tangible facts of political history may generally be ascertained. The history of the papacy is essentially a *history of opinion*; its political influence and its religious authority rest upon the same basis; and our inquiries into the nature, the extent, and the progress of both must in a great degree run over the same ground.

Eusebius names three persons—Linus, Anencletus,

and Clemens—as successive bishops of Rome after the apostles.[a] A fourth name, that of Cletus, is sometimes included in the series. But while one opinion excludes Cletus from the list,[b] another treats Anencletus as a mythical personage, and places Cletus and Linus respectively at the head of the Hebrew and Gentile sections of the Roman church.[c] These were succeeded by Clemens, who, agreeably to the list of Eusebius, would then stand as third bishop of Rome.[d] It may not unreasonably be conjectured that this succession was borrowed by Eusebius from the work of Irenæus against the heretics,[e] where the identical list is set out. Irenæus tells us that this Linus is the person "whom Paul mentions in his epistle to Timothy." Anencletus, he says, took the episcopate from Linus; and, after him, Clemens was *chosen* to the bishopric in the third place from the apostles.

Linus, Anencletus, Clemens.

The terms selected by these writers in describing the succession do not indicate any participation in the election on the part of the apostles themselves[f] excepting in the case of Linus the "*first*" bishop,—a mode of expression implying the exclusion of the apostles personally from the list of Roman bishops. Making, however, every allowance for the apostolic influence, neither Paul nor Peter—even if present—appear to have

Mode of appointment.

[a] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iii. c. 2, 4, 13, 15.

[b] *Valesius* in Euseb. in loc. cit.

[c] *Bunsen*, Hippolyt. vol. i. p. 33, 34, 2d ed. The chevalier believes Linus to have been the nominee of Paul, and to have taken charge of the Gentile Christians; while Cletus, the nominee and disciple of Peter, presided over the Jewish section. The Petrine bishop, he thinks, survived his colleague, and became, from the years 71 to 77, sole bishop of the Roman congregation. Clemens, he further observes, though he wrote in Greek, was a Roman by birth; for Greek was the prevailing language of his congregation, as it continued to be for the space of two centuries afterwards. This Clemens succeeded Cletus, and was bishop from the year 78 to 86, or from the ninth year of Vespasian to the fifth of Domitian. These opinions the learned author pledges himself to establish in his forthcoming chronological tables of ecclesiastical history; a work I have seen in MS., and lament I had not time to consult.

[d] Eusebius (loc. mod. cit.) states the succession thus: Linus *was elected* bishop of the Roman church after the martyrdom of St. Paul and St. Peter; Clemens was *constituted* bishop in the *third* place; and as to Anencletus, that the episcopate was *delivered* to him by Linus, after he (Linus) had held it for the space of twelve years; and after that Anencletus had held it for twelve years, he *was succeeded* by Clemens.

[e] *Iren.* adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

[f] *Irenæus* says that the apostles handed over (ἐνεχείρεσαν) the episcopate to Linus; after him Anencletus received it (διαδέχεται); Clemens was then "chosen" (κληροῦται).

exercised any official authority in the election of Anencletus or Clemens. We may therefore conclude that the mode of appointment observed in the synagogue, or in other churches, was followed upon both occasions.[g] And here it is hardly possible to avoid the observation, that the vague and meagre statement of these transmissions is not very consistent with any present sense of the immense importance that must have attached to them, if indeed the writer believed that by these several transfers the vast spiritual powers of a prince and primate of the universal Church were indeed placed in the hands of the persons named, or desired it to be understood that the bishops of Rome *really* entertained such an exalted opinion of their vocation in the Catholic body as was implied by such a succession.

Letters of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.

We take leave, then, to designate Clemens as the *third* bishop of Rome within the apostolic age. This Clemens, it should be observed, is the only name in the series of Roman bishops, for at least two successive centuries afterwards, to which any authentic writing can be traced.[h] Clemens, or Clement, of Rome, is believed to have been originally a Gentile convert of St. Paul, and to have been the same Clemens mentioned by the latter in his epistle to the Philippians[i] as his fellow-labourer in the gospel. After his election to the office of bishop in Rome nothing is recorded of him but that, upon the occurrence of grave dissensions in the church of Corinth, he wrote to them one or more letters containing arguments, remonstrances, and exhortations, by which he hoped to bring them back to a state of harmony and concord becoming the professors of the gospel of Christ. The offence of the Corinthian Christians appears to have consisted in a factious rejection or expulsion of some one or more of their earlier

[g] All the legends and fictions connected with the names of the three first bishops of Rome may be found collected in *Ciacone*, Vitæ Pont. tom. i. p. 83-94; and in the first vol. of the Annals of Baronius.

[h] I make no apology for not introducing here any notice of the spurious letters attributed to Clemens in the pseudo-Isidorian fabrications. I hope hereafter to advert to them at some length, but in connection with a more advanced period of papal history.

[i] *Phil.* iv. 3; conf. *Euseb.* lib. iii. c. 15.

—perhaps apostolically appointed—teachers;[j] a state of things most probably springing from a spirit of sectarian rivalry in that church, which seems to have been almost coeval with its birth.[k]

Bearing of the epistle of Clemens upon the subject, &c.

But if there had been nothing more in this epistle but what its immediate object—the restoration of concord in the church of Corinth—required, it would have possessed little interest to the subject of our narrative. Some expressions, however, occur, from which inferences of importance have been drawn with reference to the actual constitution of the Christian churches in the apostolical times. Upon these expressions a question has arisen whether, not many years after the deaths of Paul, Clemens of Rome, the companion and disciple of that apostle, himself a Roman Gentile, had indeed conceived the close *analogy between the Christian ministry and the Levitical priesthood* which those expressions are by many believed to disclose.

Hierarchical beginnings.

And in this place it is necessary to observe, that our subject deals with a highly organised and complicated hierarchical scheme, springing from very unapparent and simple beginnings. We have therefore to examine those beginnings with a view to ascertain, if possible, the birth or first appearance of principles of outward government and polity, of which we have no apparent intimation either in the works or the acts of the primitive preachers of the gospel. We say "apparent intimation," because it cannot be denied that if a consistent series of declarations and acts proceeding from the first followers of the apostles were found unequivocally leading to a single construction upon their words and acts, with reference to a particular outward form of church-government or polity, we should probably find it difficult to deny that the *germ* at least of such a form of outward government and polity is traceable to the sources of Christian tradition; though the discovery might not

[j] A second letter of Clemens is mentioned, but with doubt, by Eusebius. A fragment of a second letter has in fact come down to us; but whether the same or different from that mentioned by Eusebius, is uncertain. But this fragment is now generally regarded as genuine. See note (*a*) ad *Euseb.* lib. iii. c. 38, ed. Reading.

[k] Conf. 1 *Cor.* i. 12, 13.

materially affect our view of the religious obligation, as applicable to ourselves, of a scheme framed probably upon considerations of immediate and temporary expediency. And it is perhaps as well to state in this place, that we cannot evade the inquiry into the origin of that *hierarchical* principle which gradually pervaded the whole framework of church-government. We cannot avoid asking, when did the first sharp severance of the ministering from the non-ministering sections of the Church—the great distinction between clergy and laity—take place?—Can we discover when and how the first pretensions of the clergy to a properly *sacerdotal* commission were known and received by the Christian world? And how did they at length work their way up to the altitude of a sacrificing and mediatorial priesthood? We have here nothing to do with any speculative development. Our duty is only to examine facts; and, in the first instance, to ascertain, as well as we can, what was thought, said, or done by the apostles and their immediate followers in relation to these questions; and whether in point of fact any specific provision was made with a view to that complicated scheme of church-offices and government which gradually grew out of the simple unorganic directions left behind them by the apostles—or perhaps, to speak more properly, by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus.

St. Clement's parallel between the Mosaic and the Christian ministry.

The passage in the epistle of St. Clement of Rome to which we have to advert appears as the first announcement of what might be thought the divinely-appointed form or framework of a future constitution for the Church. There must, he said, in a former portion of the epistle, be due subordination. In the church, as in an army, there must be a gradation of offices; all cannot be generals or leaders.[1] "For (he proceeds) the Lord hath directed that the offerings and duties of the church should be perfectly, and not irregularly or hastily performed; not at *any* time, but at regular seasons and hours. Now he hath by his supreme will determined the places where,

[1] 1 *Clem.* ad Corinth. c. 37-39.

and the persons by whom these things are to be done; . . . . . therefore those who at the appointed times bring their oblations are accepted, and receive the blessing. For unto the high-priest are assigned his own services; to the priests their particular place is appointed; and upon the Levites are laid their special ministrations; the layman is subject to the ordinances respecting the laity.[m] Therefore, brethren, let every one of you serve God in his own proper place, walking with a good conscience in all honesty, not transgressing the rule of his appointed ministry. For it is not in every place that the perpetual or the votive oblations or sacrifices for sins and offences may be offered up; but in Jerusalem alone: neither even there may oblation be made in any place, but only in the court of the temple, at the altar there; and not until the sacrifice hath been carefully examined by the high-priest and the aforesaid ministers (priests and Levites). Whoever, therefore, commits any act contrary to his (the high-priest's) ordinance is guilty of death. You see, brethren, from this, that by so much the fuller the knowledge vouchsafed unto us, so also the greater the danger we incur by sinning against it."[n]

"Now the apostles preached the gospel unto us from the Lord Jesus Christ; the Lord Jesus Christ himself preached it from God. Therefore Christ was sent from God, and the apostles from Christ; and both (commissions) were given in regular order[o] by the will of God. Having received his commands . . . they (the apostles) went forth announcing the kingdom of God. And having then preached in the villages and in the towns, they set up the firstlings among themselves to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe. Neither was this a new institution; for many ages back bishops and deacons are written about: it is said in Scripture, 'I will establish their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith.'"[p]

[m] Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσίν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευῖται ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπικεῖνται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται. *Clem.* ad Corinth. c. 40.

[n] Ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοί, ὅσῳ πλείονος κατηξιώθημεν γνώσεως, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὑποκείμεθα κινδύνῳ. *Id.* ibid. c. 41.

[o] εὐτάκτως.

[p] This seems to be a misquotation or an interpolation. It is impossible to

"Observe, moreover, that our apostles knew from Jesus Christ that contentions should arise about the title of bishop; and for this cause they, of their perfect knowledge, constituted bishops and deacons, and after that handed down a series of future succession, in order that when they should depart, other tried persons should take their office. We deem it therefore unlawful that persons appointed by them, or afterwards by other excellent persons with the assent of the whole church, and who have blamelessly ministered to the flock of Christ, walking humbly, peaceably, and not grudgingly, and have for a long time received a shining testimony from all persons, should be expelled from their ministry. For it will be no trivial sin, if we eject from the episcopate those who in holiness and blamelessness offer up holy gifts."[q]

Aspects of the Clementine parallel.

These extracts will probably present themselves to different readers under a double aspect. Some will—and we think with propriety—regard them as *illustrations* only of the principles of order and subordination indispensable to the existence of every human association, more especially of those formed for religious purposes, which have always been found liable to split into as many parties and factions as there are shades of opinion among the members. Others, again, will probably insist upon the Clementine parallel between the Hebrew and Christian ministry as a true germ or base of the hierarchical scheme which we know began to show its head above ground within the century after the decease of the last of the apostles. In this view the Christian ministry would take to itself all the attributes of a *divine institution* upon grounds closely analogous to those upon which the Mosaic institutions were placed by God himself; the further adaptation, however, being—unlike the case of the Levitical ordinances—left to the enlightened discretion of the church itself, as the proper organ of the divine intentions for the erection of that holy edifice against which it was declared that "the gates of hell should not prevail."

say from what portion of Scripture it is borrowed. *Clem.* ad Corinth. c. 42.

[q] *Id.* ibid. c. 44.

In dealing with these diverging views of the drift of St. Clement in the passages in question, we have only to present to the reader such obvious facts and reasons as may enable him to judge which of the two is most consistent with the admitted conditions of the several propositions in dispute. And here the real questions are: Did the disciple of St. Paul intend to issue a precept, or did he simply propose an illustration; or had he both these objects in view? As to the second question, we think there can be no difference of opinion. He could not, in fact, have chosen a more perfect example of the peculiar benefits to be derived from a strict order in all religious ministrations, and of the unity of opinion and practice resulting from precise ordinances, than that of the Mosaic institutions. If, then, it be agreed that such was the intent of the writer, it will be to be determined whether, in making use of that illustration, he had a further object in view, namely, that of engrafting the outward form of the Jewish church-government upon the Christian scheme as it existed in the apostolic age, or, at least, of making a provision for its further expansion in conformity with the Levitical model. It can hardly be denied, that he viewed the Christian ministry as presenting an analogy of some kind to that of the Jews. Christ, he says, gave commission to the apostles; but Christ was sent from God, and in like manner the apostles were sent by him (Christ) to preach the gospel to all nations. In these acts he perceives a transmission of authority from God to Christ, and from him to his messengers. Clement further asserts, that the apostles, with a view to prevent contentions for office, which it was foreseen would arise from the ambition of men, ordained bishops and deacons, and gave directions for a succession of those officers in the church, by the selection of persons to fill them who should be elected thereunto by the "consent of the whole church," and be qualified by blamelessness of life, humility, zeal, and liberality. Intent of the parallel.

It will be observed, that there is in all this no intimation of any mode or law of transmission excepting common consent, or free choice; and he enlarges upon the

sin of rejecting such ministers, and such only, as should have obtained that consent, and be qualified by the virtues requisite to the due execution of their duties. But such a rejection is sinful, not because it violates any positive ordinance or precept, but because it involves an injustice to the person rejected; it is an unjustifiable interruption of the harmony of the association, a breach of the religious peace, and a culpable disregard of the example set them by Christ and his apostles, as well as a blamable inattention to the instruction to be derived from a proper consideration of the working of the Mosaic institutions.

Adaptation of the parallel.

If, however, it be said that Clement had in view an identification, or only a closer assimilation of the Christian ministry with the Mosaic sacerdotium, or that he intended simply to make provision for a further expansion of the ministry upon the Levitical model, it will be objected that, under the circumstances of the two dispensations, any assimilation whatever of the two ministries was impossible, and could not therefore have been intended by the writer. The

Objections to the parallel.

ministers of the old covenant were taken exclusively from a single tribe, the priests from a single family in that tribe; Christian bishops and deacons were an elective body, and were chosen without regard to tribe or family: the Mosaic priest was a sacrificer and a mediator between God and man;—an office certainly, in that age, as remote as possible from the contemplation of the Christian community. The qualifications moreover for the ministry were different in their nature: the Jewish priest was qualified by family and descent, the Christian bishop and deacon by moral and religious character only; the office of the former was indefeasible, that of the latter was voidable upon the ground of unfitness. The whole Levitical system rested upon a series of minute and special regulations proceeding directly from its divine Founder, and was so framed as to impart no discretionary powers to those by whom it was to be administered; it admitted neither of growth, nor expansion, nor movement of any kind. The Mosaic

model came at once full-grown and perfect in all its parts into the world; fixedly and irremovably it stood upon its own divine foundation to the end; and cannot therefore be deemed to hold out either example or encouragement to the changes implied in expansion or development to any scheme professing to rest upon the same or a similar basis.

Upon these considerations, it appears improbable that St. Clement intended to carry the parallel between the Jewish and the Christian ministry to the extent sometimes contended for. But the early Christian congregations,—composed, as we believe them to have been, in a great degree, of Jews, and receiving their instructions from Jewish converts,—were impressed with the highest reverence for the examples and precepts of the old covenant; and were therefore naturally anxious to draw from them every rule and precedent for their own government that might fairly be extracted from them. A sentiment of this nature, we may reasonably conjecture, suggested the parallel in question to the disciple of Paul. Christ, he tells us, was sent, or commissioned, by God; the apostles, by Christ; and these again appointed overseers and deacons,—an order of ministers for which he finds a name and a place in the records of the Old Testament.[r] As Christ the archetype, and the high-priest the type, both received their commissions directly from God, so they and their delegates—apostles and priests—are to be regarded as divinely-appointed officers of their respective dispensations, endowed, according to the different natures and functions of the two institutions, with the requisite powers to execute their several duties. And for that purpose God himself had provided a succession of ministers in the Jewish church; and had, through Christ, commissioned the apostles to make provision for a like succession of persons duly qualified to carry on the work of the gospel.

Probable intent of St. Clement.

We propose this explanation as that which corre-

[r] Though the quotation given in the text of Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians is not to be found in the Old Testament (*Jacobs.* Patres Apost. p. 150), yet the habit of adaptation was, even at this early period, so strong, that it may, with some changes, be made to correspond with *Isaiah* lx. 17.

sponds best with all the conditions surrounding the questions raised. But it must not be forgotten, that the habit of adaptation observable in the earliest Christian writers —and in Clement in particular—renders it necessary to observe some caution in distinguishing between the literal and the symbolical or illustrative meaning of the expressions used. The writer who, like Clement, could edify himself and his readers by gravely proposing the story of the phœnix as a verity typical of the resurrection of the body, is hardly to be trusted to the length to which a literal interpretation of his words would lead us.[5] If, indeed, the extracts presented to the reader are genuine, they certainly show a fuller development of the hierarchical scheme—however inconsiderable it may seem—than we should have expected. The Clementine parallel, in fact, continued more and more to possess the mind of Christendom, and to grow in strength with each succeeding generation; and the effort to work back to the primitive ages for proof and warranty to support it upon, without all doubt contributed to pollute many a page of ecclesiastical history—we might almost say, to corrupt that history at its very source.

Distinction of laity and clergy.

It lies in the plan of this work to take the evidence of each succeeding generation upon the points of the greatest prospective interest to our narrative. The gradual unfolding of the ecclesiastical system, so essential to the political as well as to the ecclesiastical history of the See of Rome, presents itself to us in the form of a series of changes proceeding step by step up to certain great halting-points, whence it seemed incapable of further advance. One of these steps

[5] *Clem. Rom.* Ep. 1 ad Corinth. c. 25. I have treated these extracts from the letter of Clement as genuine. But I entertain great doubts upon the matter. The hierarchical view is too strongly developed for the age; and in this respect the extant writings of Clement of Rome fall under the like suspicion with those of the pseudo-Ignatius, to which I shall hereafter have occasion to advert. But rather than reject evidence which is not yet proved to be spurious, I have preferred to deal with these extracts as genuine documents, and to leave the conclusions to be drawn from them to the reader, with such explanations only as they seemed obviously to require. I merely observe, that Dr. Neander (K. G. vol. i. p. 1136), in his Church History, entertains the like doubts; but the very learned *Chev. Bunsen* (Ignatius and his Age, p. 95) treats it as genuine, but thinks with me that Clement did not intend to transplant the whole Jewish sacerdotium to the soil of Christianity.

is the exclusion of the non-ministering classes, or laity, from all active church-membership. Something of this kind is supposed to be alluded to in the mention of the "laity" as subject to the sacerdotal ordinances in one of the passages above quoted from Clement.[t] But no inference could be arrived at of so early a separation of the two classes but upon the supposition of a synchronous adoption of the Mosaic distinction into the church-constitution of the primitive Christians—a supposition for which at least no evidence can be produced.[u] It cannot, I apprehend, be made to appear that the term "clerus" was used in any other sense than that in which St. Peter applied it in his first epistle,[v] where it extends to the whole of God's inheritance; and therefore, so far from being confined to the ministry, is made to denote the whole mass of God's people assembled or constituted under the spiritual guidance of appointed teachers.[w]

Primitive church-constitution.

It will be useful in this place to record what we know respecting the outward government of the churches, if we may so call it, as collected from the sources already examined, with a view to compare the portrait we obtain from these with the "counterfeit resemblance" to be gathered from the letters of Ignatius bishop of Antioch, in the form in which unfortunately those letters have come down to us. This will perhaps enable us to trace with some degree of accuracy those changes of views and opinions which at length transformed a strictly voluntary association into a severely organised political corporation, armed with

[t] Ὁ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.—*Clem.* ad Corin. c. 40.

[u] The earliest mention of clergy and laity as separate constituents of the Christian body I can find occurs in the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus, a writer who flourished in the beginning of the third century. The bishop of Alexandria applies the word κλῆρος to the ministers, and uses the verb κληρόω to describe the act of appointing ministers; he says that St. John the Evangelist went about preaching in the Gentile towns and villages around Ephesus, instituting bishops in some places, in others organising all churches and settling *clergy* (κλῆρον), and in certain places ordaining (κληρώσων) persons pointed out to him by the Spirit. See *Bingh.* Eccl. Antiq. vol. i. p. 41.

[v] Μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων, κ. τ. λ. 1 *Pet.* v. 3.

[w] And quere? does the passage above quoted from Clement of Alexandria convey any sense very different from that of St. Peter in the use of the word κλῆρος?

powers greatly transcending any of the objects contemplated by the first preachers of the gospel.

The primitive history of the religion of Christ is analogous to that of almost all other inchoate institutions among mankind. In the earliest stages of association men's ideas rarely travel beyond their immediate wants; they rarely, if ever, look forward to an expansion they have not the means of calculating. And at that stage their wants are few; and much more is necessarily left to individual action than would be convenient afterwards. Such was the state of the Christian churches established by the first preachers of the gospel. The apostolic directions for the government of the infant community very exactly meet our ideas of what was required under circumstances like those by which its position in the world was then, and must be for some time to come, determined. But allowing for changes, we naturally expect to find them such as the altered state of affairs would naturally produce. We have in the letters of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus the only apostolical writings which convey any hints respecting church-government. We find there officers mentioned under the names of "overseers" (elders) and "deacons" (ministerials), with very simple and somewhat indeterminate functions, and possessing a freedom of action inconsistent with that unity of control which is requisite to maintain order in any community after its numbers shall have increased to the extent to which those of the Christian associations in a very few years amounted. Even within the apostolic age discord and faction had already made sad havoc in more than one Christian church; and, as we have already learnt from Clement, the same elements of mischief were still alive on the very spot where the first outbreak had been observed. The apostles, we are credibly enough assured, knew that such disturbances would again result from the same causes; and it would be irrational to suppose that they did not foresee the necessity of changes, to meet the evils which must result from growing numbers, increased influence, and the passions which grasp at every opportunity for the acquisition of

power. They therefore left the churches under no obligation to adhere with Levitical rigour to any predetermined form of church-government. It may be that a closer scheme than that which was required under the circumstances of their own times was in their contemplation when they instituted the offices of overseers and deacons; and it is not improbable that they thought that simple provision the best platform for future improvements; but that they regarded it as a provision for such changes only as should spring out of the fundamental principle of the association as described by St. Paul in his letter to the Ephesians, "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,"—that is, for a change in outward form strictly corresponding in its nature and intent with the spiritual and voluntary character of the association itself.[x] The principles of church-government and of Christian perfection were in fact identical; the former were no other than the outward means of fulfilling the duties enjoined by the great law of love. Happy had it been for the world if such a state of things had possessed within itself the elements of durability! But this was not to be; as the first impulse lost its force, other feelings, other wants and desires stepped in; and we know that before the death of the last of the apostles the Roman church, as well as those of the Asiatic and Syrian provinces of the empire, had placed "overseers" at their head, in whom, conformably with the symbolising habit of the age and people, they were prepared to recognise a representative character for perpetuating that apostolical authority which had so recently departed from them, and vesting it in the men who most resembled them in piety, and in heroic devotion to the cause of the gospel.[y]

Such men were the two bishops, Ignatius of Antioch

[x] The principle of the Christian association seems to me very fully unfolded in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, v. 1-16, more particularly vv. 15, 16: "Speaking the truth in love, grow up unto Him which is the head, even Christ, in all things ..... from whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love."

[y] The Asiatic churches claim to have been so constituted by the apostle John.

and Polycarp of Smyrna. Both of them had been disciples, or hearers at least, of the apostle John. They had drunk in the letter and the spirit of the gospel from the lips of him who among all the disciples of Christ had most fully apprehended the great law of love. Both of them have left behind them some materials for the history of the age immediately following the death of their master. The works ascribed to the pen of Ignatius consist of a series of letters supposed to have been addressed by him to the Roman and the Asiatic churches, and to certain individuals—Polycarp among the number—on his long and tedious journey from Antioch to Rome by order of the emperor Trajan, to be there torn to pieces by the wild-beasts of the arena, for the amusement of his subjects. We now possess three recensions or editions of these letters; the first and longest of them containing ten or twelve, the second only seven, and the latest and shortest,—probably the only authentic one,—only three; and even these, curtailed of much of the matter contained in the same letters according to the two former recensions. The ablest scholars of Christendom have, for the last three centuries, been engaged in fruitless attempts to disentangle the text of Ignatius from the mass of clumsy forgery and interpolation by which on all hands it is admitted to have been defaced. The extent of the falsification was, in truth, the only question in dispute. In the year 1845, however, the learned world was surprised by the discovery and publication of a Syriac version of three of these epistles; forming the third of the above-mentioned editions or recensions. It had indeed been with tolerable unanimity agreed among the critics both of the Roman and the Reformed persuasions—several English divines of great reputation among the latter—that all the pieces contained in the longer recension, excepting those enumerated by Eusebius,[z] are subsequent fabrications; with what view may appear hereafter.

Ignatius and Polycarp.

The order in which Eusebius enumerates these epistles is the following: 1. To the Ephesians; 2. Mag-

[z] H. E. lib. iii. c. 36.

nesians; 3. Trallians; 4. Romans; 5. Philadelphians; 6. Smyrnæans; 7. To Polycarp. But whether these letters lay before Eusebius in the form of either of the three recensions we now possess must be a matter of pure conjecture. The reception, therefore, or the rejection of these documents, or any of them, must rest upon the internal evidence of genuineness, to be determined by those principles of comparative criticism upon which alone any solid opinion can be built. The result of the important philological inquiries to which the discovery of the shorter Syriac version gave occasion has been to establish beyond contradiction the spuriousness of four out of the seven epistles named by Eusebius,—those, namely, to the Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, and Smyrnæans; the three remaining letters,—those, namely, to the Romans, the Ephesians, and that addressed to Polycarp, remaining corrupt and interpolated to the extent of more than one-half of the matter contained in the genuine or Syriac text. That version we therefore accept as faithfully representing the original Greek text of Ignatius's letters; and consequently the only one available as evidence of the real character of the ecclesiastical system of the Ignatian period.[a]

Ignatian epistles according to Eusebius.

It is remarkable that the original text of Ignatius, thus restored, exhibits scarcely any variation in the matter of church-management from the rudimental forms recommended by the apostle Paul to Timothy and Titus, and that it touches upon the subject of episcopacy in a single passage occurring in the epistle to Polycarp: "If any one be able in strength to continue in chastity to the honour of the flesh of our Lord, let him so continue without boasting; if he boast, he is lost; if he is known to be so (to live in chastity) by any one but the bishop, he hath corrupted himself. It

Original text of Ignatius.

[a] It would have been inexpedient to encumber the text with critical discussions, or to specify the grounds upon which, in common with Mr. Cureton and the Chevalier Bunsen, I have convinced myself of the worthlessness of the two longer recensions of the epistles of Ignatius; or to explain why I believe the Syriac version to be to a certain extent trustworthy as an historical document. I have therefore inserted what is most material for the above purposes in Appendix E at the end of this Book.

is becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the advice of the bishop, that the marriage may be in the Lord, and not in lust. . . . Look to the bishop, that God may also look upon you. I will be answerable for the souls of those who are subject to the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, with whom I myself have my portion near unto God."[b] But from this passage nothing more can be collected than that the church of Antioch, where Ignatius was bishop, as well as that of Smyrna, over which Polycarp presided, possessed a bishop, a presbytery, and a body of deacons or ministerial officers. There is no doubt but that at the same period of time Rome, and many of the greater churches of the West and East, were similarly governed. Yet it would be very rash to presume that the unity of the Christian body was then regarded as dependent upon the adoption of one uniform outward organisation. It is even probable that many churches —*e. g.* those of Corinth and Alexandria[c]—were not yet episcopally constituted; and it is apparent that the mention of a bishop or presiding elder in the church of Smyrna can go no way to prove any distinction between him and his fellow-labourers, the presbytery and the diaconate, other than that of a simple presidency; but what the attributes or powers granted to that officer may have been we are left to judge from the character and objects of the association itself, and the principle upon which it was founded. The *character* was that of the Saviour and his apostles, who, among themselves, neither introduced nor observed any proper form of government: the *object* of the association was the propagation of a religious opinion or faith, an object which acknowledges none but a spiritual instrumentality: the *principle* was of a nature to repudiate external influences, one that pro-

[b] Cf. *Cureton's* version of the Syriac Epistle to Polycarp, Corp. Ign. p. 228.

[c] *Hieronymus*, Comment. ad Tit. c. i. Jerome says that the church of Alexandria was originally governed by a college of presbyters, under the presidency of one of their own body, with the title of *πρόεδρος*; a term implying a chairmanship of a popular assembly, rather than a permanent office like that of the bishop in Jerome's age. *Eusebius*, however (lib. vi. 26 and 35), gives the presiding officers of the Alexandrian church the title of bishop. I am unable to explain the discrepancy, unless it be that Jerome's remark applies to an earlier period than that spoken of by Eusebius.

ceeded from within and operated upon things without, but abhorred the reaction. Neither could the primitive Christian have contemplated the introduction of a government, properly so called, into the church, but as a lamentable condescension to the sinful nature of man. The apostles, St. Clement tells us, knew that contentions would arise for the office of bishop, and therefore they made provision for a succession of overseers and deacons, to keep the peace and to curb the irregular movements of individual ambition. But they did not think it right to check the working of the great principle of the association in its first fervour by cramping forms and regulations, tending rather to supplant than to encourage its operation.

Primitive episcopacy.

This view of the primitive church-constitution discloses no more than the adoption of a few introductory steps for the purpose of order and regularity in the services and ministrations of the church. But perhaps, even at this early period, many things might tend to foster a more lofty idea of the episcopal character, and to promote the expansion of its primitive attributes into a power of government resembling that of a temporal chief or prince. That spiritual oneness, which is justly regarded as the constituent principle of the primitive association, was at no time sufficiently tangible to fall in with the carnal character of man. He longed to give it a "local habitation and a name." He called for a representative officer—an executive chief—a visible head who should form a bond of connection between his earthly and his heavenly aspirations. He knew not how to manage the necessary correspondence between the churches, as they increased in number, but through a responsible head. It was requisite that there should be some person empowered to call the faithful together upon emergencies: some judicial authority was necessary to decide disputes and controversies between them,—some vigilant chief to watch and repel the insidious approaches of false doctrine and heresy,—some champion to stand in the van of the battle with the world, the flesh, and the devil. We should not be inclined to deny that, even before the death of the

apostle John, this want was very generally felt, or that the elementary institution of overseers or bishops, presbyters, and deacons, had in numerous instances dropped gradually into the form indicated in the genuine remains of the martyr-bishop of Antioch. There appears, indeed, every probability that the Asiatic churches at least were governed by a bishop, a presbytery, and a diaconate; the bishop as president of the presbytery, and the deacon as manager for the bishop in all temporal matters, and his assistant in the more laborious duties of his office.

Bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

We cannot, however, affirm that even at a somewhat later period,—that of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna,—any decisive distinction of official rank was recognised between the bishop and the presbyter. Polycarp survived his friend Ignatius nearly fifty years, and during the whole of that period presided over the church of Smyrna.[d] The only extant work of Polycarp is a letter addressed to the "brethren at Philippi," exhorting them to the exercise of all Christian virtues: "Let your deacons (he says) be blameless; let your youth be without reproach in all things; for it is good for them to be cut off from the concupiscence which is in the world; therefore let them abstain from such things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as under God and Christ. Let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful in all things," &c.[e] The whole government, the duties of discipline and indoctrination, appear here to have been vested in the presbyters and deacons of the Philippians. It is hardly credible that, if they had been presided over by a bishop, Polycarp should, in his rather minute enumeration of the subjects of spiritual solicitude, have omitted all mention of him

Polycarp to the Philippians.

[d] See the account of him in *Eusebius*, H. E. lib. iv. c. 14, 15, and lib. v. c. 20, borrowed mostly from the lost work of Irenæus. But in the extant works of the latter a passage occurs in which he speaks of Polycarp as having been a disciple of the apostles, and as having conversed familiarly with many persons who had seen the Lord; that he was appointed bishop by the apostles, and always taught what he had learned from them. *Irenæus* adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3. *Tertullian.* de Præscrip. Hæret. c. 32, says of him that he was appointed bishop of Smyrna by the apostle John.

[e] *Polyc.* Ep. c. 5 and 6; *Jacobs.* Pat. Apost. p. 497.

as a participator in those cares and duties. We can therefore hardly avoid the conviction, that the church at Philippi in the age of Polycarp continued to be governed by a college of presbyters and deacons, as it was in the preceding century, when St. Paul addressed them.[f] If since then they had changed their presbyterian for the episcopal form of superintendence, it is not probable that Polycarp would have directed them to obey a subordinate body, and to treat the bishop as if he had neither place nor consideration in his own church.

The church-constitution according to the false Ignatius.

Let me now lay before the reader a short sketch of the church-constitution as it is presented to us in the writings commonly ascribed to Ignatius, and accepted as the genuine works of that father until a happy accident brought to light the specious fabrications which have so long imposed upon the Christian world. No one, we are sure, who is familiar with the spirit of Christian controversy in the third and fourth centuries will be greatly surprised at the audacity of documentary fiction displayed in the instance before us. During the whole of that period Christian literature swarmed with productions of this character, generally framed with a view to support or to refute heretical opinions, or to impart a particular direction to favourite opinions respecting government, discipline, and ritual in the church. An enumeration of these forgeries still extant, and of others known only by name, would fill a volume. The difficulty has hitherto been to ascertain the motive for these strange impostures. Nothing, we think, can better conduce to the elucidation of the mystery than the comparison we venture to submit between the authentic accounts of the primitive church-constitution and those that may be collected from the pseudo-Ignatian writings. The same course may perhaps conduce to throw light upon the date, or proximate date, of the fabrications themselves.

The text selected for examination is that called the shorter recension, generally regarded as less corrupt than

[f] "Paul and Timotheus . . . . . to all the saints which are at Philippi, with the bishops (ἐπισκόποις) and deacons." *Phil.* i. 1.

the longer. Throughout these documents the external, visible, and vital unity of the church is made to consist in a compact ecclesiastical body, consisting of a bishop, a college of presbyters, and a diaconate; with no regard to, or even mention of a laity, except in the charactor of sheep under the control of a shepherd.[g] Union in Christ is identified with union under the bishop,[h] and consists in being joined to him as Christ is joined to the Father. Without the bishop there is no church, because without him there can be no unity;[i] for he (the bishop) is the "lord of the household," who assigneth to every man his appointed task. He whom the bishop sends on any mission is to be treated by all men as his representative; but to the bishop (in person) the same reverential obedience is due as to the person of the Lord Jesus Christ.[j] Consequently obedience to the bishop is as much a matter of duty as submission to the supreme bishop of souls: "Yea, it is said, as unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ himself;" for he that disobeys the visible, commits himself equally against the invisible bishop."[k]

Pseudo-Ignatian scheme of church-government.

The church[l] therefore *must* consist of a bishop, presiding in the place of God; of a presbytery, representing the college of the apostles; and deacons, to whom the external ministrations necessary to the compactness of the entire body of Christ (the Church) is intrusted.[m] But the bishop, moreover, is to the church as the Father is to the Son; the union between him and his church represents the divine union, so as to render separate action a dissolution of the whole body.[n] The presbyteries, as representing the apostolic college, command the like reverential obedience. The deacons, who are the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, are not to be regarded as the mere purveyors of meat and drink,[o]

Hierarchical tendencies.

[g] Ep. ad *Philadelph.* § ii. p. 391.
[h] Ep. ad *Ephes.* § iii. p. 271.
[i] Ep. ad *Trall.* § iii. p. 337.
[j] Ep. ad *Ephes.* §§ vi. xx. pp. 277, 303.
[k] Ep. ad *Magnes.* §§ iii. iv. pp. 311, 313.
[l] The pseudo-Ignatius designates the church as the *δμόνοια Θεοῦ.*
[m] Ep. ad *Magnes.* § vi. p. 315.
[n] Ep. ad *Magnes.* § vii. p. 317.
[o] A caution thrown in probably to meet the objection that might arise out of the true gospel character of the deacon.

but as the servants of God, and on that account to be carefully protected against all indignities, and every kind of accusation.[p] This organic unity is further illustrated by the unity of doctrine and ordinances: "As there is but one flock of Jesus Christ, one cup of the union of His blood, one faith, one altar; so also is there one bishop, one presbytery, united with one college or body of deacons."[q] And these all are attuned in harmony with each other like the chords of a well-tuned lyre.[r] But, after all, the bishop is the keystone of the arch; he is the subject of a direct revelation from God. The martyr-bishop hath encountered some contradiction: "Nay (he exclaims) but the Spirit cannot be deceived, because he is from God, and brings the hidden things of God to light: therefore it was that, being among you, I cried aloud, 'Hold fast by the bishop, and by the presbytery, and by the deacons.' . . . . . He is my witness, for whom I am now in bonds, that the flesh hath not revealed these things; for the Spirit hath announced them saying: 'Let nothing be done without the bishop; . . . . . love union, flee from divisions; be ye imitators of the Lord Jesus Christ, as he imitateth the Father.'"[s]

It is remarkable, that we find in these documents a close approach to the Clementine parallel between the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry.[t] In his endeavour to illustrate the unity of the Church by a comparison with that of the Mosaic priesthood,[u] the pseudo-Ignatius rests that unity upon the priesthood of Christ, the high-priest who himself entereth into the Holy of Holies, and to whom alone are intrusted the hidden things of God; who is the door to the Father, by which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets and apostles, and the whole Church entereth in.[v] And this is followed up in the epistle to the Smyrnæans by attributions to the Christian priesthood parallel

The Christian priesthood a *hieratic* body.

[p] Ep. ad *Trall.* § ii. p. 336. This is quite "Isidorian," and smells strongly of a much later age than even that of Eusebius. Conf. the same Ep. § iii. p. 337.

[q] Ep. ad *Magnes.* § vii. p. 317; Ep. ad *Philadelph.* § i. p. 389.

[r] Ep. ad *Ephes.* § iv. p. 273; Ep. ad *Philadelph.* § i. p. 389.

[s] Ep. ad *Philadelph.* § vii. p. 399. Conf. Ep. ad *Smyrn.* § viii. p. 430.

[t] See pp. 56 et sqq. of this chapter.

[u] ἱερεῖς.

[v] Ep. ad *Philadelph.* § ix. p. 405.

to those of the Levitical priesthood: "Anxiously (he says) avoid divisions, for they are the source of all evil; therefore let all men follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ followeth the Father. Obey the presbytery as you would obey the apostles: reverence the deacons as the appointed of God: let no one do any thing that concerneth the church without the bishop; for *that* alone shall be regarded as a true offering which is offered up by the bishop, or by him upon whom he shall devolve the ministration. . . . . Without the bishop it is not lawful to baptise, or to celebrate a lovefeast:[w] . . . . . and it is the duty of persons desiring to marry, first to seek the consent of the bishop, in order that the union may be according to the Lord, and not according to concupiscence."[x]

The bishop.

The completeness, in short, of Christian communion, and the efficacy of all ordinances, is made to depend upon the presence or the co-operation of the bishop. Without him there is no congregation, no church; for without his approval no ordinance is valid, no means of grace available; that which he approves is alone well-pleasing unto God, and whatsoever he ordains hath the force of law.[y]

Presumed origin of the Ignatian forgeries.

The attempt to engraft a scheme like this upon the simple apostolical stock was a manifest fraud.[z] But a maturer acquaintance with the growth of the ecclesiastical system might have much abridged, if it might not have wholly destroyed, the authority of the Ignatian documents, even without the recent discovery of a version wholly free from the suspicions attaching to the common vulgar editions. This observation will, if we mistake not, become more intelligible as we advance in our history. It will be found that the Church of the third and fourth centuries had framed itself very much upon the model of the pseudo-Ignatius. But a polity so different in principle and practice from the primitive simplicity could not, it

[w] Ep. ad *Philadelph.* § viii. p. 430.
[x] Ep. ad *Polyc.* § v. p. 460.
[y] Ep. ad *Philadelph.* §§ viii. ix. pp. 430, 432.
[z] And this it was that, long before I had any acquaintance with the discoveries of Dr. Tattam and the Corp. Ignatian. of Mr. Cureton, inspired me with a profound distrust of the Ignatian documents.

was felt, be sustained without warrant of antiquity, or precedent of some kind. Industry and ingenuity were therefore taxed to discover, or to invent, that which might pass for such warranty among a world ready to believe, and incapable of critical investigation. Eusebius is the earliest writer in whose works any mention of the Ignatian letters occurs; but as some time was requisite for them to grow into repute as the genuine productions of a man of great note in the Church, it is probable that they saw the light shortly before the close of the third century; not improbably some time before the earlier editions—if we may so speak—of the Apostolical "Constitutions" made their appearance in the world. With the knowledge we now possess of the true character of the works imputed to Ignatius, it might perhaps have been more proper to consider them in conjunction with the Clementine documents. But the latter had never been regarded as authentic; nor have they ever, like the Ignatian writings, been accepted as evidence of a state of things antecedent to their presumed origin. But besides this, the latter documents deal more with the *principles* of hierarchical government; while the former will be found to enter far more into the *detail* of construction and management,—a circumstance which of itself seems to point out the order of their composition.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE, AND ITS INCIDENTS.

The primitive bishop—Bishops of Rome—Linus, Cletus, Clemens—"The Church"—Incidents. 1. *Persecution:* Legal condition of the Christian community—Justin—His apology—Effects of persecution—Roman Christians under persecution—The "Shepherd of Hermas"—His idea of "the Church"—Hermas on the relation of the Christian to the Church—On the merit of poverty—Theory of "the Church"—St. Barnabas. 2. *Heresies and Schisms:* The *one* Catholic Church—Symbolism—Catholic and Gnostic symbolism—Primitive Gnosticism—Valentinians—Marcion and the Marcionites—Political antagonism of Catholics and Gnostics. 3. *Ascetic beginnings:* The epistle to Diognetus—The ascetic principle—Conclusion.

The primitive bishop.

If the views we have adopted of the government of the Church in the apostolic age and that which immediately followed it be correct, we are justified in concluding that the church-constitution of that period was not grounded upon any properly hierarchical principle. The power imparted, whatever it was, called for no other than a voluntary and spontaneous obedience; and put forth no claim to any external means or appliances for its support. We do not regard it as a definitive or unalterable provision, or, like the Levitical priesthood, invested with that "divine right" which attaches to ordinances of positive precept. It was, in short, inchoate and preparatory, and expressly calculated to leave a wide margin for future adaptation—a free scope for all such changes as the state of the Christian world might from time to time require. At the same time, one institution must be admitted to have enjoyed the apostolic sanction: bishops (overseers) and deacons were in particular instances charged by them with the duties of preaching and regulation; but without any thing more definite as to their localisation, mode of appointment, or

duration of office; and *this* probably with a view to leave their hands free for the work of conversion in any direction which might promise the richest harvest for their labours. And such was the success of this simple scheme, that probably within the first century a great many, if not the majority of the churches, freely adopted it. Then, with a further view to give strength and solidity to the institution, they very frequently deemed it expedient to select from among their bishops or presbyters a presiding elder with the exclusive title of "bishop;" an addition to the original institution extremely well calculated to give a greater precision of direction to the whole body, and to impart a unity of action highly conducive to the support of the non-ministering classes under the dangers and distresses they had to encounter. But though general, we do not conceive the institution of episcopacy (in its later sense) to have been universal within that age, or for a long time afterwards. We have no means of determining whether any and what organic powers were conferred upon the first bishops; and we believe that the absence of all such testimony agrees well with, and confirms our conception of the thoroughly voluntary character of the original institution, and of the large discretion imparted to the Christian communities in the process of self-constitution. One thing, however, appears tolerably certain, namely, that the bishops were to conduct themselves as the friends, instructors, guides of their flocks—not as the "*lords* of God's inheritance," but as the wisest, the most discreet, and the most valiant of His servants. Though, lastly, within this period disturbances in the churches may have tended to throw greater power and influence into the hands of the bishop, yet the principle of the existing church-constitution does not seem to have undergone any change which materially affected its strictly spontaneous and voluntary character.

Bishops of Rome.

These results of the evidence before us seem to offer a convenient starting-point for estimating those changes of religious opinion and practice which led to the adoption, first, of an oligarchical, and ulti-

mately of a strictly monarchical form of church-government. We may now pursue the subject in connection with the history of the Roman church.

It is most probable that the Roman congregation had adopted episcopal management before the death of St. Paul. Immediately afterwards we find it under the superintendence of two bishops, Linus and Cletus or Anencletus; but whether as successive or as joint bishops is difficult to determine.[a] Linus and Cletus were followed by Clemens; he is believed to have died or suffered martyrdom in the year 87. But between that year and 163[b] we find a succession of eight bishops, of whom little or nothing is known. This portion of the series closes with the name of Anicetus, in whose incumbency a single incident of importance is recorded. But before we advert to that incident, it will be useful to attend to a few particulars which appear necessary to explain the prevalent idea of "the Church," and to point out some of the causes which contributed to its development.

"The Church."

The original idea of the Church was, as we have seen, that of a simple unorganic association for a divinely-appointed purpose. Three centuries later we meet with the same idea represented and realised under the form of a vast body-corporate, with an establishment or staff embracing the whole Roman empire, and even some countries beyond the limits of that colossal dominion. We find it not only thus expanded, but taking to itself, *in its corporate capacity*, together with the character and attributes of a political body, the whole divinity of the purpose it was designed to fulfil: we find at the same moment all these attributes and powers, and the whole divinity of the original purpose, appropriated to themselves by a single set of officers, who in the infancy of the religion were known only as the humble teachers and monitors of the congregations over which they presided. How this vast expansion was accomplished is an inquiry which lies at the very threshold of our task.

[a] The learned Chev. *Bunsen* thinks that Linus and Cletus were joint bishops. *Hippolyt.* vol. i. pp. 33, 34.

[b] See *Bunsen's* chronology in Hippolyt. vol. i. p. 50. The death of the apostle John dates in the year 98-99, the last year of Nerva, or the first of Trajan.

For that expansion was in truth the soil in which the great Latin Patriarchate struck its roots. The episcopal constitution, framing itself upon the idea of an *outward sacramental unity*, could not in the long-run fulfil the conditions of its own existence; for as soon as the spiritual bond was broken by contact with the world and the world's business, the Christian community must either abandon the idea of an outward and visible unity, or submit to the central control of a single visible chief.

Within the second century of the Christian era we discern certain circumstances in the external position and in the internal character of the Christian profession from which some important results tributary to the main subject of our narrative become apparent. These are principally: 1. the outward condition, and the peculiar state of mind arising out of the long continuance of persecution and privation of civil rights: 2. the impressions produced by the protracted struggle of the churches with heretical and schismatical movements within: and lastly, the growth and increase of opinions and sentiments favourable to ascetic or monastic practice,—a topic which, though not of immediate interest to the progress of this history, will hereafter be found to have a very important bearing upon the advances of the papal power.

Persecution.

1. From the first preaching of the gospel to the reign of Antoninus surnamed the Philosopher, historians enumerate four general or government persecutions of the new profession. In the year 66, under Nero, the apostle Paul, and probably Peter also, were put to death. Again, in the years 95 and 96, in the reign of Domitian, several Asiatic bishops, and a good many Roman converts, some of them persons of condition in society, suffered for the faith, or were banished to spots where death was sure to overtake them. In the reign of Trajan the laws against secret societies, or "hetæriæ," were put in force against the Christians, and many persons suffered for attending the meetings of the faithful, as assemblies dangerous to the state. C. Plinius, the governor of Proconsular Asia, however, drew the attention of the emperor to the state of religion

in those provinces, and suggested doubts as to the propriety of the proceedings against the Christians of Bithynia and the adjacent districts.[c] Though the Christian religion came within the description of the "religiones illicitæ," and might therefore be held to fall under the recent edict against the hetæriæ, yet the emperor, in reply to the representations of his friend, directed that only those who, after public examination, should avow themselves Christians, and deliberately refuse to sacrifice, should be put to death: but no search, it is believed, was made for those who prudently abstained from any ostentatious avowal of their religion; and the delators, or public informers, were strictly forbidden to exercise their infamous calling against the professors of Christianity. The only martyr of note in the Church who suffered under the persecution (if it may be so called) was Ignatius bishop of Antioch, whose self-sacrifice, however essential he may have deemed it to his own spiritual welfare or the interests of his church, does not convey any exaggerated idea of the severity of the government-proceedings against the Christians in the reign of Trajan.

Legal condition of the Christian community.

But the provincial governors and professional informers were not to be so easily deprived of their prey; and the persecution seems to have been protracted throughout the reign of Trajan, under cover of the edict against secret societies, till Hadrian suspended further proceedings against the Christians, by forbidding all search to be made for them, and threatening the informers with exemplary punishment.[d] But their *legal condition* was not thereby improved. The outlawry remained unreversed; and they continued to be subject to all the penalties of the subsisting laws against illicit religions and secret associations, whenever imperial caprice, or provincial tyranny, or popular fanaticism, should put those laws in motion against them. In this state of things, the converted Platonist Justinus[e] presented an elaborate apology to

[c] *C. Plin. Secund.* Epp. lib. x. epp. 97, 98.

[d] A.D. 124 or 125.

[e] Surnamed the "Martyr," a native of the colony of Flavia Neapolis, near Old Sechem, in Palestine.

the emperor Antoninus Pius and the senate of Rome on behalf of the Christian profession. The object of the apologist was to enlighten the jealous minds of the heathen prince and his government as to all that might appear mysterious or secret—consequently dangerous to the state—in the Christian doctrine and worship; to remove the charge of atheism, so strongly pressed against the Christians in consequence of their obstinate refusal to worship the popular or state-divinities; to explain to the heathen the mystery of the eucharist, and their reasons for abstaining from all sacrificial rites; and to expound the true nature of the atonement of Jesus Christ, the natural estrangement of man from God, and the coming of Christ once for all to reunite them to the wellspring of spiritual life, by taking upon himself the nature of man, and, through his life upon earth and his death upon the cross, making full atonement and satisfaction for the sins of the world, thereby imparting spiritual immortality to the mortal creature.[f]

Character of Justin's apology.

The apology of Justin was neither a cry for mercy nor an appeal for the restoration of those rights of conscience which the Christians well knew were forfeited to the law as it stood. The advocate himself entertained no expectation that it would produce any such effect upon the emperor or the senate. His desire was to place upon record a clear and unmistakable description of the Christian association; to demonstrate its moral and political innocence; thereby to avert from the Christians the suspicions their enemies had cast upon them, of being disaffected or dangerous subjects; and to prevent their being charged as with crimes for opinions and practices not only blameless in themselves, but eminently conducive to improve the moral condition of society; in short, by making the subjects of the state better men to make them also better subjects. As to all that concerned religion, they knew they were under sentence of outlawry, and were content to remain so until it should please God, in his own time, to repeal

[f] I have adopted the *Chev. Bunsen's* abstract of the larger of Justin's two Apologies,—*Hippol.* vol. i. p 216.

the human laws which stood between them and the full enjoyment of their civil rights.

Impression of persecution on the Christian mind.

No state of the public mind is so well calculated to call forth the evil passions of man's nature as constant fear, combined with an abiding sense of injustice. At no subsequent period has the power of the gospel to hold in check the most impetuous passions, to conquer the temptations which most severely try the frail powers of human resistance, been more strikingly displayed than in the support it afforded to the integrity of the Christian community under a state of social outlawry of not less than two centuries' duration. But it is not to be supposed that such a state of things should not have left permanent impressions of some kind upon the Christian mind. Conscious of their exclusion from social communion and patriotic sympathy, their hopes and prospects were in a great degree withdrawn or averted from the ordinary pursuits of life; the animal spirits of the Christian were lowered to the level of his social destitution; there remained his courage in danger, his endurance of wrong, his patience under suffering. Unlike the slave, whose moral character so quickly descends to the level of his civil condition, that of the Christian grew in strength and rose in dignity with every fresh provocation. His imagination gained in intensity what it lost in range and elasticity. To obtain an honest livelihood by honest labour while in the world; to quit it at any hour his Master should call upon him to resign it,—his thoughts and feelings were concentrated upon the single object of "making his calling and election sure" by patient suffering, and—it might be at any moment—a martyr's death.

The Roman Christians under persecution.

These impressions, of course, attained the greatest strength during the fiercer periods of persecution. On some of those occasions several bishops of Rome fell victims to the fanaticism of the populace or the apprehensions of the government.[g] Within the period of the persecutions Rome

[g] Among these, Clemens, the third bishop, is supposed to have suffered. But almost all that Platina, Baronius, Ciaconi, and the Roman martyrologists

had become the resort of numberless pretenders to recondite knowledge, magical powers, speculative philosophy, and mystical religion; all of whom were more or less interested in subverting or supplanting the simple faith of the gospel. Thus, when the Christian philosopher Justin arrived at Rome to present his apology to the emperor Antoninus, Crescens, a professor of cynic philosophy of great reputation, but of dissolute life, became his deadly adversary; and by his persevering slanders and solicitations at length procured for him the honour of martyrdom.[h] Rome was about the same time the centre of Christian philosophy and the residence of some of the boldest champions of the gospel. Besides Justin, Polycarp resided there for a short time; and Hermas, according to some accounts the brother of Pius, (the ninth in the series of Roman bishops,) wrote and published a work in so high a degree descriptive of the temper of the Christian mind as to require a short notice of its contents.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

The author gave to his work the title of "The Shepherd,"[i] and composed it in the form of a revelation or vision, communicated to him by his guardian angel, whom he describes as the "Pastor Angelicus." The work is no other than an elaborate allegory, descriptive of the frame of the Christian mind, the rigour of Christian morals, the jealous apprehension of secret sins, the practical character of repentance, and the necessity of a thorough psychical change and conversion of the inner man, whereby alone the spiritual man can hope to obtain the victory in the great conflict with his carnal nature. Living in a wicked and

have collected about the Roman bishops prior to Constantine, is either positive fiction or untrustworthy tradition. Their alleged martyrdoms would hardly deserve attention, if their exposed position did not render it very unlikely that they should have escaped the severities of the laws, or have evaded the vigilance of the exasperated Jewish and heathen informers.

[h] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iv. c. 16.

[i] In a fragment of a work of the historian Hegesippus, usually called the "Fragmentum Muratorianum," we find it positively affirmed that the book of the "Shepherd" was written in his (Hegesippus's) day (that is, circa 170 of our era), by Hermas, a brother of Pius, when that person was bishop of Rome. Some eminent critics, however, think it must have been written in the reign of Hadrian; that is, between the years 117 and 138. *Bunsen* believes it to have appeared in 139 or 140; *Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 184. See also *Smith*, Biog. Dict. art. "Hermas."

adulterous generation, amid social contempt and privation, and surrounded by dangers and temptations from within and from without, the Christian philosopher became practically and experimentally acquainted with the awful character of the conflict he was called upon to sustain with the frailties of his mortal nature. These reflections sunk deeply into the minds of the instructors and pastors of the Christian community. The proper weapons for their great warfare were incessant prayer, fasting, self-denial, abstinence, mortification of the flesh and fleshly desires. But as the most skilful use of his arms will not secure the victory to the combatant without organisation and discipline, the Christian warrior looked to the army of the faith, the Church,—the drilled and disciplined array of the soldiers of the cross,—as his sole support in battle, his only pledge of salvation and victory.

Hermas on the Church.

In the "Shepherd" of Hermas the twofold character of the Christian, viz. as an individual member, and as a constituent of the body of believers, that is, of the Church, is strikingly delineated; and furnishes the key to several particulars of importance to the progress of Christian history. The individual character is severe and ascetic to moroseness; but the corporate, or rather the associate capacity so thoroughly absorbs his individuality as to afford the Christian no standing-place but in the ranks; out of the Church he is a "stone" rejected by the builders.[k] But this "tower," or building of God, symbolising the Church,—the type perhaps originally of the great spiritual principle of the Christian association,—seems at once ready to pass into a dogmatic reality. The "matron" of the vision may not as yet have stood in the mind of the writer as a *hierarchical* figure; yet in the existing mood of the Christian mind, as we have described it, the personification could not but pass into a doctrine—the metaphor or symbol could not

[k] "Shepherd," vision iii., where the *materials* of which the "Great Tower," typical of the Church, is composed, are described. The entire value or merit of these materials appears clearly to be their fitness or adaptation for the construction of the "Great Tower."

fail to become corporealised, and in that state to become an article of faith.[1]

Hermas on the relation of the Christian to the Church.

The parable of the "Elm and the Vine" exhibits to our view a very clear description of the relation he conceived to exist between the individual Christian and the Church at large. It shows a manifest shrinking from the business and occupations of secular life, as much as from its pleasures and indulgences. The acquisition of wealth renders the soul barren of good fruit; poverty, on the contrary, unfolds and nourishes the spiritual capacities. The elm-tree of the parable is the rich man; distracted by his wealth, his prayers are few and powerless. But the prayers of the poor man are mighty before the Lord; and of these prayers the rich professor hath the benefit, provided always he, like the elm which supports the vine and enables it to fructify, do by his wealth maintain and support the poor.[m]

Hermas, like all the earlier Christian writers, had apparently abandoned all hope of a political and, probably also, of a moral regeneration of the world in which *they* lived. They seem to have looked forward to the approaching end of all things as the certain fulfilment of the Lord's predictions, and as their surest solace under their afflictions. Hermas, like the rest, acknowledges only one sphere of active Christian existence,—the Church; only one pursuit worthy of the wise man's solicitude, —*salvation in the Church.* For she (the Church) is Christ's representative; she is one, as he is one; and in this unity all individuality is swallowed up. Only the true member of the Church is a member of Christ's body; and *he* is a true member who through self-sacrifice and tribulation unto death maintains his communion with this sole life-giving sacramental unity. The next step in the deduction, that, namely, out of that communion there could be no hope, no life, no salvation, followed as a matter of course.

[1] Conf. *Bunsen.* Hippolyt. vol. i. p. 189.

[m] *Herm.* Pastor. lib. iii. simil. 2. *Cotel.* Patres Apostol. tom. i. p. 104,—in *Hone's* version, book iii. simil. 2, vv. 7, 8, 9.

Hermas on the merit of poverty.

The elements of that church-symbolism to which we shall hereafter have so frequent occasion to recall the reader's attention, are very clearly set forth in these passages from the work of Hermas. The two important developments in the ecclesiastical scheme, namely, the *idea of the Church*, and that of *availing intercession*, upon which the later theory of the ascetic system, and at a still remoter period the whole monastic scheme, supported themselves, are indicated with unmistakable distinctness.[n] Whatever may be the merits of the work in the present state of the religious world, there can be no doubt but that it was perfectly well adapted to the prevailing sentiments of the Christian community in the second century. And indeed it was so highly esteemed in the Church, that it was at one time a question whether it ought not to be received into the canon of Scripture. Though upon maturer consideration that honour was denied to it, yet it was always considered as a work conveying the most important lessons, and more particularly useful as a manual of instruction for neophytes. To that end it was publicly read in the churches, and was quoted and appealed to by Irenæus and other antenicene writers with great respect and deference.[o]

Comparative advances of the theory of the Church.

We may perhaps here cast a glance behind us to trace the comparative advances of the church-theory since the days of Clement and Ignatius. The respect due to the ministers of the gospel, more especially to those who had received their appointments from the apostles, was strongly inculcated by those fathers; but the duty was not removed from the ground of voluntary submission. The *Church* was wholly contained in that spiritual unity which sprang

[n] According to Hermas, in the passages above cited, the business, cares, and duties of the world so absorb the wealthy and the powerful, that they have neither time nor spirit for prayer. But the poor man is rich in prayer. And "when the rich administers to the poor those things which he wants, the poor man prays unto the Lord for the rich; and God grants unto the rich man all good things, because the poor man is rich in prayer, and his requests have great power with the Lord. Then the rich man ministers all things to the poor, because he perceives that he is heard by the Lord; and he the more willingly and undoubtingly affords him what he wants, and takes care that nothing be lacking to him," &c.

[o] *Euseb.* lib. iii. c. 3, and lib. v. c. 8.

from a unanimous devotion to the common Saviour; she was the *instrument*, not the *source* of human salvation—the outward pledge of union with Christ, not his representative upon earth. But the strong expressions used by those fathers might easily lead their followers to give the idea a greater extension. And, in truth, no mode of imparting additional strength and compactness to the Christian body would come amiss to the vigilant and jealous teachers who were placed at its head. Yet neither of those primitive fathers carried the idea of a representative Church-catholic a single step farther. The same may be said of the very ancient document generally ascribed to Barnabas the companion of Paul, a work which, though disfigured with some extravagance of allegorical gloss, yet breathes so pure an apostolic spirit, that we cannot fail to recognise in it the genuine production of the earliest post-apostolic age.[p] But the first half of the second century already marks a long stride towards that theory of representation which was shortly to seat the Church upon the throne of the Saviour. In Hermas we clearly discern a symbolical Church-catholic reduced to a dogmatic reality, and possessed of powers assigned to it by Christ, large, yet not strictly defined, because as yet the principles of individual obligation and responsibility were not wholly swallowed up by the ruling abstraction. But in this there were few if any traces of sacerdotal ambition or vulgar priestcraft. A firm outward basis of operation against an evil and a hostile world was required; and that basis was found in the *outward unity* called the Church. It is not difficult to comprehend how it happened that, when the struggle was past, and power was placed in the hands of the managers of a system so prepared, the theory might furnish a fulcrum for removing the Church from the foundation upon which Christ and his apostles had placed

Epistle of St. Barnabas.

[p] I allude chiefly to the first or prefatory chapter of his epistle, and to the 14th and 15th chapters. Even in the typical commentations, which comprise all the intervening chapters, there is much that is thoroughly Christian. Some few expressions in chap. xiv. vv. 14, 16, seem to hint at a kind of representation in the ministers of the gospel, and at a qualified expropriation of worldly substance for the benefit of the Church. *Cotel.* Pat. Apost., Epist. Barnab. ubi sup.

her to one of their own choosing. Little more in fact was requisite to seat them on the throne of the Saviour than the removal of the few remaining prejudices of primitive religion, and the thorough identification of the *personnel* of the management with the Church herself. The mode in which this was to be done may be partially discerned in the writings of the pseudo-Ignatius.

Heresies and schisms in the Church.

2. We next advert shortly to the impression produced by the long and arduous internal struggle of the Christian Church against heretical and schismatical movements within her pale. The foundations of the Roman hierarchy were laid in the religious mind; and every disturbance of religious opinion, every change of its direction, must in the nature of things affect its outward structure. And so it happens that, in the long conflict between the orthodox and the heretical sections of the Church, new complications of parties arose at every turn; new combinations, religious and social, were accomplished among the victors themselves, and a new outward machinery was brought into action, corresponding with the internal revolution completed or in progress.

The *one* catholic Church.

As soon as any religious matter comes to be referred to or determined by a body existing in an outward visible form, claiming the divine attribute of oneness, and capable of existing only in that oneness, its spiritual becomes practically absorbed in its corporeal character. From that moment its decree is truth, and heresy is any thing and every thing which, without reference to any pre-existent standard, impugns that decree. There is, therefore, no escape from the thraldom of arbitrary forms of faith but in the assertion of a perpetually-present divinity, to keep alive the memory of its primitive destination, and, above all, to preserve the distinctness of the body itself from all other outward forms which may set up a pretension to the like unity and catholicity—that is, in plain terms, the divine purpose is to be made dependent upon a human machinery for its fulfilment. For men will then judge of the substance by the form, and a mistake as to the latter ne-

cessarily involves an error in the former. The question then is, not, what is truth? but—whence proceeds the voice by which that truth is enounced?

We present this view as the last stage in the development of the theory of the one Church-catholic, as delineated in the work of Hermas. But the process was gradual, and we have no ground for believing that either Irenæus at the close of the second, or Hippolytus of Portus at the beginning of the third century, had adopted any foundation but the apostles and prophets; or that they had ever thought of transferring their spiritual allegiance to the outward representative body afterwards distinguished by the title of the Church-catholic,[q] whatever use they may have made of it to mark the distinction between the unanimous majority of believers from the throng of diverging sects which sprang up in the latter end of the first and beginning of the second centuries, and against which all the energies of their learning and their rhetoric were directed.

Symbolism.

But is it to be taken for granted that the ultimate victory of that majority over this vast array of error left behind it no lasting traces of the great struggle passed through? Was that victory in no degree sullied or dimmed by the unconscious adoption of a *symbolism* akin to that from which the theosophic theories of their adversaries derived their venom? Any one who has attentively perused the works of the earlier fathers will be struck by a certain predilection for allegorical gloss, for figurative expositions and personifications. The propensity is alike observable in the speculations of the friends and foes of the purer revelation; neither is it at all improbable that it was strengthened by the desire to encounter adversaries with their own weapons; and the less so when it is considered how congenial such a method of controversy was to the temper of the popular mind, and how well it fell in with the ordinary modes

[q] The term καθολικός was probably adopted at an early period of church-history, to distinguish the great body of Christians from particular or local sects. The earliest use of the name we can authenticate occurs in Clement of Alexandria, Strom. lib. vii., as quoted by *Bingham*, Eccl. Antiq. vol. i. p. 10, note (k); that is, about the middle of the third century.

of popular instruction, more particularly in the East. In this way we account for the extraordinary popularity of the work of Hermas, and the efforts made to secure for it a place in the canon of Christian Scripture. This spirit of symbolism, so conspicuous in the mystifications of the Gnostic philosophers, unfolded itself among the Catholic Christians in a different form. While the efforts of the former were for the most part directed to throw off the trammels of the Hebrew dispensation; the latter, not contented to receive the old covenant as the "shadow of the good things to come," thought that it contained the very substance, could they but obtain the key to the mystic lock which shut it out from their view. The figures of the old covenant, recommended to them as guides and finger-posts only to lead them to the realities of the new testament, held out baits too tempting to the ambitious speculations which were gradually creeping into the spirit of the church-ministry. In the Mosaic institutions, indicative as they really were of some of the most important realities of the Christian dispensation, the Christian sophist might readily enough persuade himself that he was in possession of the desired key to the pre-ordained constitution of a true church; and when the thought had once taken root, the idea of a Christian priesthood, endowed with mediatorial and sacrificing functions, lay at no great distance within the field of view.

Action and reaction of Catholic and Gnostic symbolism.

Again: the creation of the world; the origin of evil in it; the relation of the Creator to the Saviour and the Holy Spirit,—presented equally attractive topics to catholic and to heretical speculation. The lists of Irenæus and Hippolytus acquaint us with the names of no fewer than thirty different heresies, which had polluted the Christian mind since the days of the apostles. It would lead us too far out of our way to give a more particular account of the destructive forms of error adopted by the ambitious or designing theosophists who, in the second and third centuries, afflicted the world and divided the Church of Christ by their vain and seductive symbolism. The only matter

of immediate interest to our narrative, in connection with these heresies, is the reaction of Gnostic upon Catholic methods of exposition; and more especially the hierarchical direction thereby imparted to the latter. But to this end a very short sketch of some peculiarities of Gnostic error seems requisite; for thereby we think we shall be enabled to point out the grounds of that properly political antagonism between the Catholic body and the principal Gnostic schemes, which contributed at least to give the peculiar direction in view.

Primitive Gnosticism.

Simon the Samaritan, one of that swarm of theosophic jugglers which infested the East even in the days of the apostles, is the reputed parent of a variety of schemes of religious imposture, combining all that was most attractive in philosophic abstraction or popular belief, with a view chiefly to their own emolument and renown. In Asia Minor the apostle John encountered the empirics Cerinthus and Nicolaus. Contemporaries with these were Menander of Antioch, and one Glaucias, who is said to have been an interpreter to the apostle Paul. Saturnilus afterwards stood up against Ignatius at Antioch; and Basileides propagated his delusions at Alexandria. About the same time a fantastical sect known by the name of Naäsines or Ophites mingled their own dreams and impure speculations with the gospel-history, and gave to the world a bible of their own, made up of the then current spurious gospels, and tricked out with mythical dogmas and allegorical fables most likely to attract the public curiosity. Of all these, the Jew Basileides of Alexandria[r] was probably the first to give currency to the theory of dualism,—a scheme devised to reconcile the co-existence of good and evil in the world with the goodness and benevolence of God. Basileides was the most conspicuous of that class of heretics which usually goes by the name of the Ebionite school; springing, as ecclesiastical writers believe, more or less directly from the hallucinations of Simon the Samaritan, the presumed antagonist of St. Peter.

These were followed closely by a different class of

[r] Circa A.D. 120.

theosophists, both Jews and Gentiles, who, with perhaps purer intentions, showed plainly their inability to strike out any new path to the elucidation of the mysteries they proposed to explain. They maintained that the mixture of good and evil in all that concerned matter or the material universe was so indissoluble, that it was impossible to conceive the creation to have been the work of an almighty and perfectly benevolent God. The Creator therefore, and the good God, must be different existences: the former a combination of power with imperfect moral attributes, the unconscious antagonist of the good principle; the latter the author of all that is good, or tends to good, in the moral and spiritual world. The more philosophical Gnostics regarded the Creator or Demiurgus as a subordinate though independent existence; but the literal disciples of the same school inclined to consider him as the enemy of God, and of all that emanated from Him, especially the souls of men and angels. Basileides himself does not appear to have done more than to propose his system as a theory subordinate to, and explanatory of, revealed truth; but his followers cast aside all reserve, and soon lost themselves in a labyrinth of theory that only plunged them into lower depths of absurdity and inconsistency.

Valentinians.

Valentinus, about the same time, or a few years later, proposed a theory which stood materially upon the same ground as that of Basileides. He came to Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus,[s] and is spoken of by all parties as a man of great ability and integrity. His system consisted of a series of personifications whereby he hoped to give reality to certain abstract properties of nature and deity, to which he gave the names of Æons.[t] The essential part of his scheme was a spiritual cosmogony, in which he played out the great drama of creation both psychical and material, as he presumed it might have been acted so as to produce the results actually exhibited in the visible universe. God is in himself the eternal cause and essence of creation. But between this great first cause and its outward mani-

[s] Between the years 129 and 132.

[t] αἰῶνες, or worlds.

festations Valentinus interposed several pairs or Syzyges of æons, male and female; from whom proceeded various secondary æons, of whom the youngest, Sophia or Wisdom, in her passionate efforts to reunite herself with the Bythos or great First Cause, produced an ambiguous existence or abortion, whom he calls 'Achemoth,' a being having no place or residence in the Pleroma or abode of the æonic natures, but is condemned to wander outside the sphere of divine and spiritual life. This imperfect being then became the Demiurgus or Creator of the world, but blindly subservient to the will of Divine Wisdom (Sophia), and unconsciously fulfilling the purposes of the supreme God. The materials at the disposal of the Demiurgus are of three kinds—the spiritual, the natural, and the material. Of these, the first is the only one capable of being gathered to the Pleroma (the heaven of æons); the second, or natural, hath its abode in the middle region, where dwells the Achemoth or Demiurgus, together with the inert or material element. From all the æons emanate Jesus (Σωτήρ, the Saviour), who, as the destined associate of the Achemoth, is appointed to reunite him and the spiritual natures of creation with the Pleroma. The nature of the Saviour being both psychical and pneumatic (natural and spiritual), the former was united to the man Jesus at his baptism, and thus formed the psychical Messiah for the natural man; while the spirit introduced into him by the æon Soter (Saviour) is operative for the spiritual man.[u]

Marcion.

Marcion, who soon afterwards followed Valentinus to Rome, carried matters with a higher hand. He stood forth as the champion of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith alone without the works of the law, against the judaising sects who persisted in regarding Christianity as a kind of reformed Judaism. Marcion taught that the gospel was a new law, distinct from, and unconnected with, any thing that went before it. In his view it was a simple manifestation of divine love for the fallen and unhappy race of man; unprepared,

[u] *Gieseler*, Eccl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 140, 141; *Neander*, K. G. vol. i. part ii. pp. 704-731; conf. *Bunsen*, Hippol. vol. i. p. 137.

sudden, and complete in itself, and to be interpreted only by itself. Adopting the general theory of Valentinus, he at once cast aside the whole of the Levitical law as the work of the Demiurgus, the revelation of the "prince of this world," therefore of necessity imperfect and carnal in its nature.[v] As to the Christ, he affirmed that the man Jesus, born of Mary, was not the Christ until the æon Logos (the Word) descended upon him at his baptism by John in the Jordan. That was the moment when the Spirit of God in the Saviour (the æon Soter) came down to earth and saved the world; not in obedience to any decree or command, but by his own free will and of his own ineffable love; and solely because he knew that thereby alone he could destroy the power of the malevolent Demiurgus. Him Marcion regarded as the God of the Jews, the "prince of this world;" a being incapable of any but selfish desires, and therefore to be overcome only by an equivalent of self-devotion and self-sacrificing love in the Saviour. The souls thus saved by Christ were, he maintained, no longer subject to judgment; for judgment was prepared only for the deluded slaves of the "prince of this world," the Jews, and those who trust in the works of the law.

The Marcionites.

All the sins of the Valentinians were exhibited in tenfold enormity by the Marcionites and the various sects which issued from that hotbed of rash speculation. All Christian parties equally took the alarm. The formalism of the judaising sects felt the blow aimed at the law in every nerve; while the advocates of the liberal doctrine of St. Paul found in these theosophic dreams no compensation for the degradation of the Saviour to the condition of an emanation or creature—standing, as it did, in direct contradiction to the prologue of St. John's gospel,[w] and to the plain declarations of Christ himself respecting his own nature. But there was a scandal of equal enormity behind. Though both Catholics and Gnostics agreed in attaching an out-

[v] Conf. 1 *Cor.* vi. 8; *Ephes.* ii. 2.

[w] "In the beginning was the Word (λόγος), and the Word was with God, and the Word *was God* . . . . all things were made by him," &c.—*John* i. 1, 3.

ward and visible existence to the idea of the Church, the latter left it destitute of all outward *form*—it rested with them in the shape of the æon ἐκκλησία, a practical nonentity, a disembodied abstraction. It was apparent that by rejecting the Mosaic law as the work of the Demiurgus, they aimed at depriving the Catholics of all the countenance they might derive from that law for the building up of a Church-catholic; they broke to pieces the model structure to which all looked with reverence, and some with national predilection. The shock to the religious convictions of the Catholic body was the more sensibly felt, because the rejection of the Mosaic model barred the only known channel for the expansion of the existing church-constitution. If further success had attended the Gnostic theory, it was obvious that the outward Church must have developed itself,—if at all,—in some unimaginable direction;—at all events, in a form unsanctioned by any model comparable in authority to that of the Mosaic institution, or even intelligible to the understanding of the age.

The contest resulted not only in a religious, but in a political antagonism between the Catholic body and the most numerous and respectable of the Gnostic sects. In the former, the old-covenant forms were creeping into favour. Men were getting accustomed to look to those forms as objects of imitation—as a hallowed platform for the construction of a system of church-government upon Mosaic principles. But the Gnostics rejected that platform with abhorrence; they thus intercepted the high-road of hierarchical development, and, while they rudely assailed the groundwork of the Christian faith, they forcibly arrested the current of ecclesiastical aspiration. These rash, desultory, and ill-combined assaults upon the Christian conscience, drew the Catholic body to a head, under their clerical leaders. The glory and the profit of the struggle fell to the share of the latter; and the conflict ended, not merely in the overthrow of the adversary, but in a closer combination of the Catholic body, a more affectionate regard for, and a more rigid adhesion to, those hallowed forms which the

Political antagonism.

heretics had so blasphemously traduced. The triumph of the church was the triumph of the clergy; and the decline of Gnostic opposition seems to have removed the last obstacle to the steady development of the hierarchical principle upon the Mosaic model.

Ascetic beginnings.

3. The Gnostic theosophy originated in the East, and partook of the peculiar character of Oriental symbolism. The Demiurgus, or material principle, was the enemy to be overcome; a part of the Gnostic system which fell in well with the self-sacrificing precepts of the gospel. The Diabolus—slanderer or accuser of the Old Testament—was this very Demiurgus in person, whose children—the race of materialised, non-spiritual man—were for ever shut out from the Pleroma, or residence of æons and æonic beings, a term commutable with the heaven of the Catholics. As long as the Gnostics stopped short of imputing creative powers to the Demiurgus, the Catholics could start no objection to this view of the conflict between the spirit and the flesh. The work of Hermas marks the early predisposition of the Christian mind towards asceticism as strongly as Marcion's theoretic warfare between his Diabolus and the human soul. The earlier fathers have almost all of them this in common with their heretical adversaries, that they agreed in putting out of view the duties of social and public life. The perpetual contact with the things of the flesh was poison to the soul. Domestic or public occupations, ties, and affections, were regarded as obstacles in the career of Christian perfection—as so many traps laid by the enemy, so many lures hung out to draw the spirit within the polluted sphere of created matter—the realm of Satan or of the corrupt Demiurgus, according as the subject assumed the Catholic or Gnostic aspect. Though neither party carried the dogma of the corruption of matter, or (as they expressed it) of the flesh, to the lengths of the later Manichæans, yet neither would submit to be outdone in the race of practical asceticism; both, indeed, only stopped short upon the very verge of that monstrous theory.

The parallel between the two views of Christian life

is strikingly illustrated by an ancient document, with much probability ascribed to Justin Martyr, and entitled an "Epistle to Diognetus,"[x] the friend of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Referring to the opinions of Hermas upon personal purity,[y] we compare them with the thoughts of the writer of the Epistle to Diognetus on the same topics. "What the soul is to the body," says that writer, "the Christians are to the world. The soul is diffused through all the members of the body; and so also do Christians live in the world, and yet are not of the world. The invisible soul is preserved in a visible body; and so Christians are known to be in the world, but their religion remaineth unseen. The *flesh hateth the soul, and warreth against her,* without receiving any injury (from her); for the soul preventeth the body from indulging in pleasures: so the world hateth the Christians, yet is in no way injured (by them); for *they are opposed to pleasures.* The soul loveth the flesh and its members that hate her; and so do Christians love those that hate them. The soul is shut in by the body; and so are Christians kept, as it were, in prison by the world; yet they uphold the world. The undying soul dwelleth in a mortal tabernacle; and so do Christians dwell by the side of that which is perishable while they wait for immortality in heaven. *The soul is made better the more she is maltreated by the withholding of meat and drink;* and Christians, the more they suffer punishment, the more do they from day to day increase in numbers."[z]

Epistle to Diognetus.

It is probable that the "Shepherd" of Hermas and the letter to Diognetus were published within a very few years of each other. In the former we catch a glimpse, in the far background, of that class of persons which, in after ages, called themselves the

The ascetic principle.

[x] This Diognetus is supposed to be the same person whom the emperor M. Aurelius in his private memoirs calls his second parent. The Chevalier Bunsen (Hippol. vol. i. p. 172) thinks that this epistle is the work of Marcion, written before he plunged into the theosophic vagaries which disgraced his later career. At all events, he thinks it genuine beyond question; and that it was written at Rome by a warm and enlightened Christian. The date he fixes about the year 135.

[y] See p. 86 of this chapter.

[z] *Bunsen*, Hippol. vol. i. p. 177.

"poor of Christ,"—the "pauperes Christi,"—a name generally assumed by ascetics and monks. In the latter work we discern, in the doctrine of the maceration of the flesh, or, as the writer expresses it, "the maltreatment of the soul by the withholding of meat and drink," that formal denunciation of the enjoyments and comforts of life which lies at the bottom of the ascetic practice, and soon came to involve the *duties* of men in the world in one common condemnation with its pleasures and enjoyments; they who live *in* the world are of necessity *of* the world, and have need of the intercession of those who are not of the world; and these are they who, by the mortification of their sinful flesh, have obtained God's favour, and so become qualified to intercede for their sinful brethren *in* the world. These ideas of self-sacrifice gained strength and expansion from the uncertainty and diminished value of life to the active and forward Christian. Like his Master, he was "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;" but the contempt of the world was his glory; his grief was his solace; for his Lord, before him, had led the way through tribulation unto life,—for *he* had drained the cup of sorrow to the lees. Suffering was an element in the outward status of the perfect Christian while in the world; it was the purifying fire, in his passage through which he threw off the impurities of the flesh, and became fit to be the spiritual companion of Christ in his glory; or, as the pious Gnostic would probably have expressed the same thing, a fit associate for the Saviour in the Pleroma of blessed æons. With this great reward in prospect, life was to him an encumbrance and a burden; the body a lurking-place for the tempter—an instrument of spiritual torture—the secret advocate of Satan against Christ; in short, the enemy to be subdued and destroyed.[a]

[a] It should be remembered that we have been describing, not an existing phenomenon, but a gradual development. I do not impute ascetic formalism either to Hermas or the author of the letter to Diognetus. There are not many traces of this spirit in Justin Martyr or in Irenæns or in Hippolytus; but there is still a root or basis for such opinions to spring from strongly developed in most of the early Christian writers. And, in fact, feelings of that nature were the natural result of their extra-social position.

Convergencies of the religious mind of this nature are of very material importance to the progress of ecclesiastical history in its political as well as its ecclesiastical bearing. The sects and parties of ancient days acted and reacted upon each other just as Romanists and Protestants do in our own. They are never the free and independent agents they imagine themselves. So-called catholic practices and opinions may frequently be traced to heretical sources; and in the course of this narrative we may be compelled to identify many a reputedly catholic tenet or custom with the ancient Simonism or more recent Manichæism; nay, not improbably, with the still more ancient forms of heathen idolatry.

CHAPTER V.

ROME AND THE HIERARCHY IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

The one catholic Church—Development of the idea of the one catholic Church—M. Aurelius Philosophus—Anicetus and Polycarp—Paschal controversy—Victor and Irenæus—Irenæus on tradition—The "potentior principalitas"—"Tradition" according to Irenæus—Where to be sought—Tertullian on Roman pretensions—Other adverse opinions—Hippolytus—Origen—Cyprianic documents—Their general character—Works attributed to Cyprian—Treatise "De Unitate," &c.—The Cyprianic unity—How connected with the church of Rome—The Cyprianic age—Novatian schism—Cyprian and Cornelius—Intercourse between Rome and Carthage—Antagonism—Affair of Basileides and Martialis—Cyprian and Stephen of Rome—Dispute about heretical baptism—Cyprian on the equality of the hierarchy—Complaint of Cyprian against Stephen—Letter of Fermillian of Cæsarea—General historical inferences—Roman pretensions.

The one catholic Church.

THE great struggle against the several forms of heresy to which we adverted in the preceding chapter had brought out with tolerable distinctness the idea of the *one catholic Church;* a term, however, which at the time served no real purpose but to distinguish the great majority from the dissentient minority of those who took upon them the name of Christians. The important question, "How was this one catholic body to be distinguished and marked out?" had not as yet received a reply. And it is sufficiently clear that, up to the close of the second century, the idea of the Church as *a sacramental unity,* so defined, not only in its internal characteristics, but in its external form and aspect, that there could be no mistake about it, was, if thought of at all, very imperfectly unfolded. For in truth the spiritual bonds which cemented the several congregations of the faithful throughout the empire still retained strength enough to encounter both the internal

and external enemies by which they were beset; and it may be readily believed that the perils they were called upon to meet in all directions left them little leisure to speculate very deeply upon church-constitutions, or to deliberate upon any common measures but such as should be immediately conducive to success against the common enemy.

Development of the idea of the one catholic Church.

But as time wore on, the numbers of the community increased with unexpected rapidity, bringing with it a consciousness of strength and importance as an element of political society, which, though still proscribed and occasionally persecuted, was every year swelling the number of its friends and reducing that of its enemies; the moment of triumph over the infirm polytheism, patronised rather than professed by the state, appeared at no incalculable distance; new prospects opened, and new modes of direction and control became requisite; they who had hitherto managed the few were called upon to govern the many; a new external polity was demanded; and the call could be responded to only by the body possessed of a personal interest in the object in view, and holding in their hands the only known means for its accomplishment. The Church was that body: not the Church as the aggregate of professing Christians, but the Church as represented by an officiating ministry, taking unto itself the whole divinity of the object of its institution. We trace the steps of this important revolution through the history of the particular church of Rome.

M. Aurelius Philosophus.

In the reign of M. Aurelius the Philosopher the Christians of the empire suffered rather from the absence of government protection than from any participation of the reigning princes in the cruelties practised against them in the provinces. Shocked by the enormities perpetrated under colour of law against an unresisting people, the emperor severely reprehended the provincial governors, in particular those of proconsular Asia, for the folly and inconsistency of their proceedings; he contrasted their neglect of their own gods with the profound devotion of the Christians towards

the object of their adoration; he forcibly drew their attention to the cheerful submission of the Christians under persecution: death in defence of their persuasions was to them an honour, not a punishment; they went forth from the trial as conquerors rather than as criminals. All search for Christians was therefore strictly prohibited, and severe penalties decreed against all informers; but still without any repeal or modification of the proscriptive laws standing against them upon the statute-book of the empire.[a]

Anicetus and Polycarp.

Anicetus, the eleventh bishop of Rome, held the see between the years 151 and 162.[b] During the reign of Antoninus Pius the church of Rome enjoyed uninterrupted exemption from government persecution. But during all that time the Gnostic controversies were at their height; and at the same moment symptoms of estrangement appeared between the eastern and the western churches touching a simple question of ritual, yet wearing at that particular moment a very threatening aspect. The oriental Christians were in the habit of keeping the Paschal festival on the fifteenth day of the Jewish month Nisan, whether it fell on the first or any other day of the week. The western churches, on the other hand, celebrated it on the first Sunday after the vernal full moon. The controversy, even at that early stage, seemed of importance sufficient to call Polycarp, the venerable bishop of Smyrna, to Rome, where he is reported to have conferred with Anicetus, then in the second year of his episcopate. The next step in the dispute shows that it had assumed the character of a formal quarrel between Rome and the churches of proconsular Asia. Victor, bishop of Rome[c] in the reign of Sept. Severus, took upon himself to excommunicate Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and the bishops of his province, for noncompliance with the Roman mode of cele-

[a] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iv. c. 13. The papal doctors Baronius, P. Halloix, and Papebroche, ascribe this edict to Antoninus Pius. Valesius very properly contests the authorship, and assigns it to M. Aurelius Antoninus. See *Vales.* note (2) ad loc. Euseb. The reign of that emperor falls between the years 161 and 179 of our era.

[b] Between the 13th year of Ant. Pius and the second of M. Aurelius.

[c] Between the years 187 and 199.

brating Easter. An impression was gaining ground in Rome that a diversity of ceremonial indicated a departure from the faith and a breach of the theoretic unity of the Church. Principles have their place in history as well as facts; uniformity of ceremonial is perhaps desirable because it strengthens sympathy, and is, in some sort, a pledge of unity of purpose; yet there is hardly a surer test of the leaven of priestcraft working in the religious mass than a growing inclination to confound the form with the substance—ritual and observance with faith and morals. The husk and the shell indeed protect and preserve the fruit within; but they possess no atom of its nutritive qualities. It is truly a serious fraud to present the one for the other; or by case-hardening, as it were, the integuments, to render the nutritive matter inaccessible.

Victor and Irenæus.

At that moment Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, perceived the danger incurred by the precipitate step of Victor—the danger of confounding the primitive spiritual *unity* with *uniformity* of ritual observance. Though he agreed with the bishop of Rome as to the propriety of observing Easter in conformity with the western practice, he reprehended him with great freedom for the intemperate spirit which had impelled him to "cut himself off" from an important section of the catholic Church upon a dispute about a mere matter of observance. He reminded him of the forbearance of his predecessor, Anicetus, who, so far from breaking off his communion with the eastern churches, had not even insisted upon the matter in difference, lest he should thereby disturb the harmony of the Church. The "one thing needful," he protested, was the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; and he insisted that *that* unity, instead of suffering interruption from differences of external observance, was rather made thereby to shine forth more brightly. As to all such matters, therefore, every Christian congregation should be left at full liberty to retain its own ancient and accustomed forms.[d]

[d] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. v. cc. 23, 24, 25. *Neand.* K. G. vol. i. p. 342.

Irenæus on Christian tradition.

There was, we perceive, no confusion in the mind of this accomplished Christian as to the real distinction between the spiritual membership of the Church-catholic, and outward conformity with the usages of a particular church, such as that which existed in the mind of the bishop of Rome. But the subject assumed a very different aspect when the question concerned the sources of Christian doctrine;—when it became important to point out the storehouse of apostolic tradition, and thereby to arm the faithful against the multiplied fictions and forgeries which swarmed in the world, and by which so many had been already led astray. In the work against heresies, of which only an imperfect Latin version, with a few fragments of the original Greek, have come down to us, he alludes to Rome as one of those churches which, on account of its importance and reputed apostolicity, must be supposed to possess the most copious and accurate knowledge of Christian tradition. This passage has already come under our notice for another purpose;[e] the clause to which our attention is called in this place runs thus: "Because, therefore, of her apostolic foundation, and the regular succession of bishops through whom she hath handed down that which she received from them (the apostles), all churches, that is, all the faithful around her and on all sides, must on account of her more *powerful pre-eminence* resort to this church, in which the tradition which is from the apostles is preserved."[f]

The "potentior principalitas" of Rome.

This passage presents some difficulties, which may probably have arisen from the loss of the original treatise and the defects of the version before us. The Greek equivalent for the words "potentior principalitas"—more powerful pre-eminence—might help us to the writer's meaning. With that original in our hand, it might be possible to ascertain the precise purport of the words "necesse est"—it is necessary, requisite, expedient—whether the words

[e] Chap. ii. p. 32 of this work.

[f] "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter *potentiorem principalitatem*, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in quâ semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ ab apostolis traditio." *Iren.* adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

imply more than a simple expediency—whether we are to restrict the terms "every church" to those immediately around her, or to apply them to all churches indifferently, and in such a way as to convey an absolute duty coextensive with the Church-catholic, and thus to constitute the church of Rome the exclusive referee on all matters appertaining to, and ascertainable by that tradition.[g] It would not be less necessary to fix the precise meaning of the term "tradition" as it stood in the contemplation of the writer. Here, indeed, there seems to be no serious difficulty. The tradition alluded to clearly embraces all, and no more than, that which the apostles themselves delivered to their personal auditors, and was by them recorded and handed down through the bishops in succession, as the wardens of the archives of their church.

"Tradition" according to Irenæus.

It would, indeed, be irrational to suppose that Irenæus in the passage before us intended to point to any mere hearsay among the members, clergy or laity, bishop, presbyter, or deacon of such churches or all together, not reduced to writing, or nonexistent in the depositaries of the association, as an authentic source of tradition. It is manifest, indeed, that he believed the apostolical churches—those which had been founded or distinguished by the personal superintendence of an apostle of Christ—must retain the strongest and most faithful impressions of what they had heard—that they must have conceived the most profound reverence for the instruction received, and be therefore the more anxious to transmit it to their successors in its severest purity. He believed, doubtless, that these dispositions were the best qualifications for the office of guardians of the sacred records—that such churches would be most disposed to watch them with that jealous caution so necessary in those days to protect them from the corruptions of Gnostics and other heretics, and to prevent the numberless spurious writings and forgeries then in circulation from becoming mixed up and confounded with the genuine records. In short, he may be

[g] See above, chap. ii. pp. 33, 34.

said to have regarded the writings which the apostolic churches could produce upon demand as coming out of the proper legal custody, and therefore to be accepted as good evidence of the faith "once delivered to the saints."

Intent of Irenæus.

The *ground* of reliance, therefore, is the uninterrupted transmission of the trust through a well-authenticated succession of bishops. And this ground Irenæus explicitly extends to other churches enjoying the like privilege of apostolic derivation. Viewing the passage from this point, we interpret the terms "for the faithful all around" to denote the duty of all churches, within consulting distance of that of Rome, to have recourse to the latter whenever an inspection of her records might become necessary—and *that* for the same reason that it is the duty of all churches within reach of any other apostolic church to resort thither for the like purpose.[h] At the same time, it appears that Irenæus had in some degree yielded to the impression which the political as well as the ecclesiastical eminence of Rome had produced upon most men; but it is equally clear that *his* mind had not dwelt long enough upon the subject to raise the questions whether this potential principality of the Roman church was a governing or only a consultative preeminence?—whether she was the exclusive referee of the catholic body, or only one of several similarly qualified?—whether her "succession" was more perfectly ascertained than that of other apostolic foundations?—whether the duty of resorting to her in the cases specified was a duty of positive obligation, like that of submission to the divine law, or of expediency and prudential caution only? The simple circumstance that these questions had escaped his attention, when the subject most likely to bring them under his consideration lay so broadly before him, seems almost to supply the answers. We have, therefore, no sufficient reason to believe that he intended to point out the church of Rome as the *exclusive referee* of Christendom; nor that he thought her episcopal succession better ascertained or more potential than that of other apostolic churches; nor that he re-

[h] Conf. chap. ii. pp. 33, 43.

garded the duty of resorting to her as at all differing from the corresponding duty of any body of Christians within consulting distance of other apostolic foundations.[i]

Tertullian on Roman pretensions.

There are, however, some strong indications that, within the age of Irenæus, the bishops of Rome had assumed a position in the Church in most respects corresponding with the extreme views of the Petrine power. Attention has already been drawn to the Paschal controversy, in which Irenæus interfered to check the presumption of Victor, bishop of Rome. The latter, we have seen, took upon him to excommunicate the Asiatic churches, because, holding the superior purity of the *ritual* traditions of his own church, he believed he had a right to enforce the adoption of that ritual by a process not usually resorted to except as an extreme defence against *doctrinal* error. The African father Tertullian, a contemporary of Irenæus, at least in the latter years of his life,[j] initiates us somewhat deeper into the mysteries of Roman pretension. In a work written some time after he had embraced Montanism, and therefore probably after he had retired from Rome, he complains that the bishop of that city assumed the titles of "Pontifex maximus" and "Episcopus episcoporum,"[k] and that he was in the habit of quoting the decisions of his predecessors as conclusive upon all questions in dispute between the churches in a decretal form, as thus: "The supreme pontiff, who is bishop of bishops, hath pronounced," &c. From another tract,

[i] But see contra *Baronius*, Ann. Eccl. A. 45, § i. to iv. See also *Cent. Magd.* cent. ii. p. 64.

[j] His principal works date between the years 194 and 216. His fiery and enthusiastic temper betrayed him during some portion of his literary life into the errors of the Montanists, a sect holding certain fantastical notions about the Paraclete, and professing rigorous religious Puritanism. He had acquired considerable reputation as a jurist, and some literary celebrity as a Latin writer. He seems to have resided some time in Rome, and to have acquired an intimate knowledge of the state of religious parties there. Disgusted, according to Jerome, with the harsh and insulting conduct of the Roman clergy, he embraced the enthusiastic tenets of the Montanists. But he has been always regarded as a valuable advocate of the Christian cause, as he was the first of the properly Latin fathers,—all, or the great majority, of the clergy of the Western churches during the first two centuries having been of Greek extraction.

[k] *Tertull.* de Pudicitiâ, sect. i. "Audio editum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium, 'pontifex' scilicet 'maximus,' quod est 'episcopus episcoporum,' edicet."

written within the same period of his literary career,[l] we learn that the Roman bishop Zephyrinus,[m] probably likewise his predecessor Victor, had asserted his chair to be *the chair of Peter*, and *that he himself sat in the chair of Peter*, grounding his claim upon the words of the Lord: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." Tertullian thus rebukes the presumptuous pretension: "But allow me to inquire concerning this opinion of yours?—how comes it that you take to yourself this *attribute of the catholic Church?* For if it be that because the Lord said unto Peter, 'upon this rock will I build my church, and I will give thee the keys of the heavenly kingdom; and whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven,' you presume that the power of binding or loosing is conveyed to you, that is, that the Church-catholic is Peter's household,—are you not thereby plainly uprooting and perverting the intention of the Lord by maintaining that he meant to apply these words to Peter *personally?*"[n]

Coincidences of other adverse opinions.

It may therefore be taken as a fact in papal history, that before the close of the second century the pontiffs of Rome had taken a title implying an authority coextensive with the Christian world, as successors and representatives of St. Peter.

Hippolytus.

Hippolytus bishop of Portus, a contemporary of Tertullian, a Roman divine of the puritan school, carries us a step further. He says that bishop Callistus, the successor of Zephyrinus,[o] had assumed a *power to forgive sins*, and that, in particular, he claimed a large amount of indulgence for episcopal sins. The new lights which had broken in upon the bishops of Rome towards the close of the second century—the presumption of Victor—the proud title assumed by Ze-

[l] *Tertull.* de virginibus velandis,—Op. pp. 767, 768.

[m] Circa A.D. 199.

[n] To render this passage more intelligible, I should read the latter clauses thus: "For if it be because the Lord said unto Peter, 'Upon this rock, &c.' you presume that this power of binding and loosing is conveyed to you (personally as Peter's representative), that is, that the Church-catholic is Peter's household (rather than the household of Christ), are you not thereby plainly uprooting, &c. the Lord's intention in taking to yourself, as if he meant to be applied to Peter personally that which he really applied (through Peter) to the Catholic church?"

[o] A.D. 218.

phyrinus—the consummation, as it were, of spiritual arrogance, implied in the power to forgive sins, affected by Callistus, were inexpressibly offensive to the severer schools represented by Tertullian and Hippolytus. The celebrated Alexandrian catechist Origen had visited Rome in the year 211 or 212, consequently during the episcopate of Zephyrinus,[p] a point of time corresponding with the probable date of the residence of Tertullian in that city. It may at the same time be reasonably presumed that the learned Alexandrian sought and enjoyed the society of the distinguished bishop of Portus, the "malleus hereticorum" of his age; and that he could not have been ignorant of the state of opinion in Rome in relation to the powers claimed or exercised by bishop Zephyrinus, or the construction he had thought fit to put upon the celebrated addresses of our Lord to St. Peter. Under these circumstances, we should have a right to conclude that the opinion of Origen upon this matter, expressed in a work published, it is true, some years afterwards, imported a designed coincidence with that of the two Roman divines, Tertullian and Hippolytus. In his commentary upon the xviii^th^ chapter of St. Matthew's gospel he meets the Roman exposition with a direct negative; he denies that Peter, as disassociated from the other apostles, is that rock upon which Christ had founded his Church; the rock, he further says, was not Peter personally, but Peter's faith; a quality which he enjoyed in no higher degree than the other apostles, and therefore establishing in him no peculiar or exclusive title to be *the foundation* upon which the Saviour promised to build his Church.[q] Origen.

We have now arrived at a period in which difficulty meets us at every step. If we could rely on the authenticity of the documents upon which the ordinary histories are based, more particularly the works attributed to St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, between the years 248 and 258, we should have to mark a very perceptible change of church-polity in Third century: Cyprianic writings.

[p] According to *Tillemont* and Neander.

[q] *Orig.* Comm. in Matth.,—Works, tom. i. p. 274.

a twofold respect. Within the first fifty years of the third century we should find, in the first place, that the hierarchical scheme of church-government had arrived at a very advanced stage of organisation; and in the next, that it had already provided itself with a spiritual chief, to represent in his own person the unity of the episcopate, and to direct its external operation. But it must be observed, that in the works attributed to Cyprian, many interpolations, mutilations, forgeries, and improbabilities of detail have been detected and exposed by critical investigation; and these disputes make it extremely difficult to deal with them as contemporary evidence of the state of the Christian world at the time they bear date. We do not hope, therefore, to extract from them a more genuine state of facts than that which the letters of the pseudo-Ignatius presented before the discovery of the Syriac version.[r]

General character of the Cyprianic writings.

But whatever may be the date of these documents, they appear as so distinct a development of a previous theory, embracing the two points first adverted to, that I think the testimony to be derived from them may find a place here without such a chronological misplacement as materially to anticipate the real order of the development. The Cyprianic theory coming so soon after the opinions expressed by Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, is indeed too sudden and abrupt not to startle the student of ecclesiastical history: Cyprian himself shines out like a meteor—no one knowing whence it came, or whither it vanished—in the Christian atmosphere; and if we may take Tertullian as in any respect the mouthpiece of public opinion in Africa in his day, or Origen as the exponent of the Alexandrian church upon the "Tu es Petrus,"

[r] The first attack upon the Cyprianic writings was published by Dr. James, in the year 1612, in a work entitled "Corruptions of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers," &c. In this work he exposes several important interpolations in a treatise entitled "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," imputed to Cyprian. Mr. *Shepherd*, in his "History of the Church of Rome," has pointed out many circumstances of suspicion attaching to the "Letters of Cyprian," which impugn the genuineness of those productions. But we cannot go with him the length of regarding Cyprian himself as a mythical personage. He has, however, made a good case for a much closer critical inquiry into the genuineness and authenticity of the Cyprianic writings than they have hitherto undergone.

it must indeed surprise us, within thirty years of their times, to hear a voice from Africa not only reechoing the broadest claim of the bishop of Rome to the heirship of Peter, but boldly presenting him to the world as the representative of that sacramental unity beyond whose pale there is no Christian life here below, and no hope of salvation hereafter. Yet throughout the whole of the third century the hierarchical and the monarchical principles appear to have proceeded *pari passu* towards that fulness of pretension we find them to have arrived at in the fourth. And, indeed, it is believed that the Cyprianic writings, or those among them which are most open to suspicion, must have seen the light before the close of the latter era—probably within the same period of time which gave birth to the Clementine and pseudo-Ignatian fictions.

Writings of Cyprian.

The works attributed to Cyprian are numerous, though none of them of any bulk. They consist of thirteen tracts, or treatises, upon various subjects of doctrine, discipline, and Christian morals, together with a collection of eighty-one official letters regarded as genuine by his modern editors.[s] Among the treatises, our attention is particularly called to that entitled "De Unitate Ecclesiæ,"[t] and to the collection of letters. The treatise is presumed to have been written during the Novatian schism, with a view to bring back to the Church those who had separated from her, in support of the unchristian opinion that the Church had no power to reconcile and to receive back into communion those who during persecution had lapsed into idolatrous compliances.[u]

Treatise De Unitate, &c.

Few of Cyprian's works have undergone more manifest garbling than the treatise on the "Unity of the Church." Omitting those passages which are now proved to be pure interpolations, enough remains to show the extent to which the ideal of the one

[s] One or two others are considered as doubtful, and some fifteen or sixteen are on all hands rejected as spurious. It would be curious to examine the grounds of rejection, to ascertain whether there is any better reason than mere similarity of style for regarding the bulk as genuine, or than dissimilarity in that respect for rejecting the eighteen or nineteen scapegoats.

[t] On the "Unity of the Church."

[u] The so-called "thurificati," "sacrificati," and "libellatici," or certificate-men.

catholic Church had fixed itself in the minds of churchmen, and the almost necessary connection between that ideal Church, *as a visible body*, with a visible corporeal head. "They," he says, "who obey the commands of Christ . . . . are founded upon the *rock*. But heresies must arise . . . . and the cause of this is that men do not mount up to the source of truth; they do not seek for the *head*, in obedience to the word of their heavenly Master. But the proof of the word of truth is easy enough: the Lord addresses Peter . . . 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not overthrow it: and I will give thee the keys of heaven, and that which thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' And again, after the resurrection, he saith unto the same Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' (that is) *upon him* (Peter) *singly*[v] he builds his Church, and to him he commits his sheep to be pastured; and although after the resurrection he gives equal power to all the apostles, saying: 'as my Father sent me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost —if ye remit any man's sins, they are remitted; if ye retain them, they shall be retained'—yet in order that he might make manifest the unity, he, by his authority, determined *that there should be one chair*, and that this unity should have its origin from one.[w] Such indeed as Peter was, such were likewise the other apostles, to whom was granted an equal fellowship both of honour and power; but the *principle* flows from *unity;* that thereby the *one Church of Christ* should be made manifest in the *one chair*.[x] And they (the apostles) all are pastors; yet one flock only is indicated to be depastured by the apostles with a unanimous intent, in order that the Church of Christ may thereby be *shown* to be one. . . . He that abideth not in this unity of the Church, doth he

[v] "Super illum unum"—upon him *being one*, or *in his oneness*.

[w] "Unitatis ejusdem originem, ab uno incipientem, suâ auctoritate disposuit."

[x] "Sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur [at primatus datur Petro], ut una Christi ecclesia, et cathedrâ unâ monstretur." The words between the brackets are an interpolation. See *James's* Corruptions, &c.

believe that he holdeth to the faith? He that struggleth against and resisteth this church,[y] can he have any assurance that he is in the Church? The same thing likewise the blessed apostle Paul teacheth, setting forth the *sacrament of unity*, saying: 'There is one body and one spirit and one hope of our calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God.' Which unity we are bound firmly to hold and to vindicate; *but chiefly we the bishops*, in order that we may likewise prove the *episcopate to be one and undivided*. . . . . The episcopate is, indeed, one . . . . the Church also is one, being expanded to a multitude by the increase of its fecundity. As in the sun there are many rays, but only one light; and as the branches of a tree are many, yet its strength is but one, being grounded in one tenacious root . . . . so the unity of origin is preserved in all these. . . . . Thus also there is but one head and one source and one mother of fruitfulness, fertile in offspring. . . . . Whoever is secluded from the Church is joined to a harlot; he is severed from the promises of the Church: nor shall he who forsakes the Church of Christ partake of the rewards of Christ; he is a *stranger*, an *outcast*, an *enemy*. *He* cannot have God for his father who hath not the Church for his mother . . . . he that breaketh the peace and concord of Christ acteth against him. . . . . And doth any one believe that this unity, *springing from divine power*, and holden together by celestial sacraments, may be severed *in* the Church, or be divorced from her, by the mere impulses of human opinions? He that doth not hold this unity doth not hold the law of God, he doth not keep the faith of the Father and the Son, he partaketh not of life or salvation."[z]

This description of the unity of the Church, and of the means adopted to "make it manifest," or to "show" it forth, indicates plainly enough the impression intended to be produced by the Latin ecclesiastic—whoever he may have been—who wrote this

The Cyprianic unity.

[y] Then again an interpolation to this purport, "he that deserteth the chair of Peter, upon which the Church is founded," &c. can he be, &c.

[z] *Cyp.* de Unitate Eccles.,—Op. ed. Bened. Paris, 1726, pp. 194-197.

treatise. But it is remarkable, that it contains no identification of that *one* chair by and through which that sacramental unity is to be sustained with the particular see of Rome. This singular omission, however, is supplied in a letter ascribed to Cyprian, and purporting to have been written by him to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, upon occasion of the Novatian schism. In that letter Cyprian is made to describe the church of Rome as the "chair of Peter—the principal church, from which the *sacerdotal unity* takes its rise."[a] Taking these passages together, it can hardly be denied that the writer intended to identify, or to confound, the external constitution of the catholic Church—the episcopate one and undivided—with the spiritual principle upon which it was placed by Christ and his apostles; and further, that he intended to impart to it a sacramental character by tracing its origin to a direct commission from the Saviour himself to Peter, by and through whom alone it could acquire that *oneness* which he deemed essential to constitute a universal or catholic Church.

How applied to the church of Rome.

The important questions, however, which these expressions—whether they be genuine or otherwise—bring up before us are, whether the writer intended them to apply to the church of Rome as the *symbolical* representative of the sacramental unity in the Church-catholic? or whether he contemplated a *governing* and controlling *power*—a *principality* properly so called? It should only be observed here, that if the latter was intended, the conduct of the reputed author under such conviction will be expected to square with his professions; if the former, the difficulty arising out of any discrepancy between his words and his acts will in a great degree vanish. There is indeed a third supposition open to us—he may have so entangled himself in his own theory of a spiritual unity, as represented by the one episcopate, as to have lost sight of the important consequences that could not fail to result from vesting the representation of

[a] *Cyp.* Epp., ep. 55, p. 86, ed. Fell. It would, I think, be difficult to admit the genuineness of this passage, after rejecting the interpolations *in pari materiâ* which James has so clearly exposed in the treatise "De Unitate," &c.

that episcopate in the chair of Peter. It is indeed extremely difficult to separate the idea of such a representation from that of a governing power; for in the same way that the bishop represented his church, so also the bishop of St. Peter's chair represents the episcopal aggregate: but the bishop is the prince of his particular church; therefore the bishop of Peter's chair is, in much the same sense, the prince of the universal episcopate.[b] But in difficulties of this nature an unexpected light is sometimes thrown upon doubtful meanings and motives by the *conduct* of the persons to whom they are imputed. The Church-history of the age, in fact, affords an opportunity of testing the writer's feeling as to the extent of the obligation imposed upon him by his own principles. If he believed the relation subsisting between himself in the character of bishop of Carthage and the church of Rome to have been that of a subordinate bishop to his primate, his whole conduct would exhibit a series of rebellious inconsistencies, to which it would be difficult to give too harsh a name. If, on the other hand, we understand him to have founded his theory of Church-unity upon the oneness of the episcopacy—that is, upon a hierarchy united in perfect agreement within itself—a close spiritual aristocracy, symbolised by, but not absorbed in, the oneness

[b] Cardinal Bellarmine, in his treatise "De Pontifice Romano," lib. i. c. 9, commenting on the words "Tu es Petrus," &c. thus cuts the Gordian knot: "Here we have a complete and perfect 'designatio personæ.' Peter's faith was indeed the meritorious cause of his appointment; yet that faith cannot with any propriety of language be called a foundation" (forgetting that the apostle Paul had spoken of the gospel faith precisely in that sense, 1 *Cor.* iii. 10, 11, 12; *Ephes.* ii. 20; and see supra, ch. i. p. 15). "For," he continues, "the foundation of a building must be of the same material as the superstructure. But the Church being a congregation of human beings, *the foundation must likewise be a man* (!) like themselves; therefore the man Peter, qualified as he was by a more lively faith in Christ than that which dwelt in the other apostles, is the 'rock' upon which the universal Church was to rest as upon the firmest foundation. And since it is the peculiar function of the foundation to sustain the whole building, the words addressed to St. Peter imply that to him was committed (not merely the symbolical function of representing the Church-unity, but) the absolute government of the whole Church, more especially in matters of *faith*." We cannot but admire the clever conversion of a Scripture metaphor into a matter of fact: the necessity of a *human* foundation is not very clear; and even if it were, the *man* Christ, at all events, would answer the purpose better than the man Peter. We might also inquire where the cardinal learnt that Peter's faith was stronger than that of his colleagues in the apostleship. By all accounts, it seems to have failed him rather oftener than it did in their cases.

both of the faith and person of Peter—the spiritual, and even the visible representation might still be granted without surrendering the independence of the churches to a superior; an appeal would be always kept open to the original source of Christian judicature; and each particular church would continue to possess within itself the essential attribute of oneness as long as it retained its connection with Christ the supreme bishop, in the unity of the spirit and in the bond of peace.

The Cyprianic age.

This we believe to have been the idea of Church-polity entertained by the writer of the Cyprianic letters; and so we think it will appear from the conduct imputed to Cyprian under the circumstances to which the authors or collectors ascribed the publication of these letters. It should be remembered, that the episcopate of Cyprian fell within two severe government persecutions: the first, that of Decius; the second, that of Valerian, in which Cyprian himself is reported to have suffered martyrdom. After the violence of the first of these persecutions had abated, fierce contentions arose in his church as to the mode of dealing with those who, from fear or other personal motives, had fallen into idolatrous compliances. The general name applied to all these persons was that of "Lapsi"—apostates; and, according to the nature of their offences, these were again distinguished under the different descriptions of "Sacrificati"—persons who had formally performed sacrifice to some heathen deity or to the image of the emperor; "Thurificati"—persons who had gone no further than to strew incense upon the heathen altar; and "Libellatici"—those who had for money, or by favour of the magistrates, obtained certificates of conformity with heathen rites without having actually participated in them.[c] A nu-

[c] The Libellatici were also known by the name of "Acta facientes," makers of deeds. These persons gave in a declaration of conformity in writing, and received a certificate to that effect, which exempted them from further molestation, and dispensed with any public act of apostasy. At a later period a fourth class of Lapsi appeared; these were called "Traditores," or persons who from fear of punishment surrendered their copies of the Scriptures or other religious writings to the heathen magistrate: these appeared principally in the Diocletian persecution, in the first years of the fourth century (A.D. 302 to 304).

merous party, consisting of those who had survived imprisonments, tortures, mutilations, forced labour in the mines, and other bodily hardships, in attestation of the faith that was in them, and generally distinguished by the name of "Confessors," proud of their sufferings in the cause of the gospel, and probably not unwilling to establish their own fame at the expense of their weaker brethren, vehemently opposed the readmission of all classes of the Lapsi to the privileges of Christian communion. These persons and their followers assumed the name of Cathari, or Puritans, to denote the severe purity of their profession, and their horror of the contaminating intercourse with apostates or heretics.

Novatian schism.

The churches of Rome and Carthage were, we are told, simultaneously disturbed by disputes arising out of these adverse views. In the former church the presbyter Novatianus declared the admission of the lapsed to communion to be contrary to the divine law; and he wholly denied the power of the Church to remit the sin of idolatry in any shape.[d] Cornelius, the successor of Fabianus[e] in the see of Rome, took the opposite view, and maintained that the contrite lapsi, upon satisfactory proof of repentance, might be readmitted to communion by the simple ceremony of the imposition of hands. The followers of Novatianus indignantly denied the possibility of obtaining satisfactory evidence of repentance in the case of apostasy: the sin was of too black a hue to yield to the ordinary remedies; it was so deeply-seated as to escape the discernment of the Church; the offenders must therefore be remitted for a possible pardon to Him who alone could fathom the depth of the guilt, or estimate the true value of the repentance necessary to atone for it.

Cyprian and Cornelius.

Cyprian of Carthage was, it appears upon the face of the documents before us, inclined to take the same view of the case of the lapsed with that

[d] Subsequently the disciples of Novatianus appear to have altogether denied the right of the Church to forgive sins; though, it should seem, without shutting out true penitents from all hope of salvation.

[e] Fabian was put to death at Rome in the Decian persecution, and was succeeded by Cornelius, A.D. 251.

adopted by Cornelius. A presbyter of his church named Novatus[f] violently espoused their cause, and insisted on their readmission upon very easy terms. Cyprian, however, insisted, not only that proper proof of repentance should precede the reconciliation, but that it should be postponed until the cessation of the existing state of persecution, or until some general regulation should be adopted by the whole Church for that purpose. The prospect of restoration thus opened to the lapsed was too distant to satisfy their impatience. Novatus and one Felicissimus, a deacon, declared themselves in schism, and elected Fortunatus, a member of their party, bishop of Carthage. The next step of the faction was to gain over the liberal Cornelius of Rome to their views, and to obtain, if possible, the recognition of the Roman church for their new bishop. With this view it appears that Novatus crossed the sea; but on his arrival at Rome he met with so sharp a rebuke from Cornelius for his schismatic proceedings, that in his resentment he threw himself into the arms of Novatianus, whom his own friends had already elected bishop of Rome in opposition to Cornelius. Deserted by their champion, the cabal at Carthage fell to pieces; and Cyprian was undisturbed by any competitor during the remainder of his episcopate. But the quarrelsome spirit which peculiarly distinguishes the controversy about the reconciliation of lapsed and heretical penitents continued for ages afterwards to disturb the Western churches. The irritation of Cornelius of Rome vented itself in a lively epistle of complaint addressed to Fabianus bishop of Antioch.[g] Novatian, whom he honours with the epithets of "common cheat," "impostor," and "liar," had, he said, committed the heinous sin of introducing two bishops into one see: "as if (he continues) he had been ignorant that there can be but *one bishop* in a catholic church,[h] or that there was a fully constituted

[f] A name not to be confounded with that of Novatianus of Rome. *Smith*, art. "Novatianus."

[g] Preserved to us by *Eusebius*, H. E. lib. vi. c. 43.

[h] "Ενα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθολικῇ. *Euseb.* ubi sup. Valesius, in his note upon this passage, gallantly renders the words ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθολικῇ "in *the* cath. ch.," *i.e.* Rome; the one bishop being he of Rome, and the one catholic church the church of Rome.

establishment of bishop, presbyters, and deacons[i] in Rome; a body legally competent to deal with its own delinquent subjects."

Intercourse between Rome and Carthage.

Thus far the Cyprianic documents disclose a wonderful cordiality of intercourse between the churches of Rome and Carthage. Each church had spontaneously and independently arrived at the same conclusion upon a subject of great moment to the welfare of the whole Christian body. The silence of ages past is suddenly broken, letters and messages pass, envoys and deputations cross the seas from one to the other with the most startling frequency; a light shines though the darkness of ecclesiastical history which promises to disperse the mists that have hitherto obscured the history of Church-government and shut out accurate views of the relations of the several Christian communities to one another. The Africans have, it seems, in some sense, and to a certain extent, adopted the theory of the Petrine primacy, and connected it in a loose manner with the see of Rome. The sequel of the disclosures contained in these documents will possibly reveal in some degree the extent of the adoption, and the mode in which the writers or collectors interpreted that connection.

Antagonism —Affair of Basileides and Martialis.

In the year 252 two Spanish bishops, Basileides and Martialis, were, we are told, deposed by a synod of their province as "Libellatici." Basileides made public confession of his offence, and was admitted to "lay communion."[j] Two new bishops were appointed to the sees vacated by the delinquents; but in the following year Basileides, dissatisfied with the adjudication of his colleagues, went to Rome,

[i] The spiritual staff of the church of Rome is thus given: one bishop; forty-six presbyters; seven deacons; as many subdeacons; forty-two acolytes; exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers, forty-two; lastly, widows, infirm, and indigent, 1500 persons.

[j] Are we indeed so far advanced in the age of Cyprian towards the *sacerdotal* stage as the distinction between lay and sacerdotal communion implies? I cannot find any vestiges of the distinction during the first three centuries. *Bingham* quotes no authority earlier than the Apostolical Canons; a composition to which we cannot assign an earlier date than the fourth century. *Bingham*, Antiq. vol. vi. p. 340 et sqq. See Epp. Cyp. ep. 68, in which are contained the details of the affair of Basileides and Martialis. The authenticity of this letter is very doubtful.

and complained to bishop Stephen, the successor of Cornelius, of the supposed injustice of the sentence against himself and his friend Martialis. Stephen, without further inquiry into the merits of the case, ordered the Spanish synod to restore both to their sees. But in the meantime the synod, for some unexplained reason, had thought proper to lay their proceedings in the cause before Cyprian and an African council.[k] A numerous synod of bishops was convoked; the cause examined; sentence of approval passed in favour of the original judgment, and the appointment of the new bishops solemnly confirmed.

Cyprian and Stephen of Rome.

And now the adverse decision of Stephen of Rome is brought to the knowledge of Cyprian and his council; and in his letter to the Spanish synod announcing the African adjudication, the bishop of Carthage treats the mandate of Stephen with the most profound contempt: "Stephen (he said) had obviously been overreached by false statements; and, as it respects the complainants Basileides and Martialis, they had by the very act of appealing against the judgment of the domestic tribunal very seriously aggravated their original offence." This decision of his church, he further observes, was in conformity with the general understanding as to the treatment of the lapsed, to which the late martyr-bishop of Rome Cornelius was a consenting party; and *that* understanding was, that such offenders, though admissible to reconciliation after suitable penance, must nevertheless be excluded from every clerical or sacerdotal function.[l]

[k] In the perusal of the Cyprianic documents we are struck with the extreme frequency and facility of councils and synods. They are talked about as familiarly, and seem to have been as easily assembled from the most remote districts of Italy, Africa, and Spain, as a meeting of Parliament by the royal summons in England; and *this* in the days of Decius and Valerian—days of active and almost incessant disturbance and persecution! Means of conveyance, opportunities of correspondence, habits of familiar intercourse between the churches of Africa, Spain, Italy, and Asia Minor, grow up and multiply as if by magic,—and cease as suddenly as the Cyprianic correspondence! All again is involved in pristine darkness for almost an entire century!

[l] Cyprian mentions the number of thirty-six African bishops who had concurred with him in this decision. Epp. *Cyp.* ep. 68, edit. Bened. p. 117,—in Marshall's version p. 67. Conf. *Cent. Magd.* cent. iii. c. 7, pp. 169, 170. Baronius does not notice the transaction.

Whatever, therefore, may have been the extent and nature of the prerogative assigned in the Cyprianic documents to the chair of Peter, that of a controlling jurisdiction over other ecclesiastical bodies is certainly not included. But not long afterwards vexatious disputes arose touching the validity of baptism by heretics. Stephen of Rome, with a large party in the western churches, held that persons baptised by heretics were not to be rebaptised; but that they should be admitted to catholic communion by the simple laying on of hands, in token of purification and reconciliation. On the other hand, some considerable sections of the Christian community, particularly among the Asiatic churches, maintained that no spiritual grace could flow from so polluted a source; the ordinance in the hands of heretics was merely void, and therefore legitimate baptism was in that case just as necessary to church-membership as the primary rite in that of heathen catechumens. Irritated by opposition, Stephen, after the example of his predecessor Victor in the paschal controversy, took upon himself to excommunicate the bishops of Asia. But Cyprian took the severer view, and declared in favour of the Asiatic dissentients; he, and the majority of his bishops, warmly embracing the opinion that heretical baptism was void, and that repentant heretics were in this respect to be treated in the same manner as other candidates for admission into the Christian Church.[m]

Dispute about heretical baptism.

No sooner had this arrogant demeanour of Stephen reached the ears of Cyprian than a synod of no fewer than eighty-seven bishops (!) is suddenly collected at Carthage to discuss the question of heretical baptism, and adjudicate upon the character of the proceeding of the bishop of Rome. In his opening address, Cyprian exhorted every member freely to express his opinion; but, in so doing, not to set himself up as a judge of other bishops, or to denounce anathemas against those with whom he might differ: "I may take it for granted," he said, "that among us there is no one who will arrogate to himself any authority over

Cyprian on the equality of the hierarchy.

[m] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. vii. cc. 2 to 5.

those of his own order; or claim to be a 'bishop of bishops;' or drive any of his brethren, by haughty menace or tyrannical compulsion, into his own persuasion; inasmuch as every bishop hath equal liberty of judging and determining upon all questions that come before him, and can no more be judged by than he can judge another. Therefore it should be our resolution to await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, *from whom alone* all our powers to govern his Church are derived, and who *alone* hath authority to call us to account for the use we may make of them."[n]

Complaint of Cyprian against Stephen.

Stephen, we are given to understand, did not disguise his wrath at the decision of the African churches; he wrote a letter replete with reproaches to Cyprian,[o] in which he bespattered him with the names of "false Christ," "false apostle," "deceitful labourer," &c. Fermillian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, one of the excommunicated prelates, quotes these invectives in a letter of sympathy to his colleague Cyprian.[p] The latter, it seems, had dispersed copies of Stephen's libel far and wide,[q] and accompanied them with complaints of the arrogance, flippancy, and inconsistency of the language and conduct of Stephen; and treating the tone of command thus assumed by an equal on the episcopal bench with scorn and ridicule. "He hath been pleased moreover," he says to his friend Pompeius of Labrata, "to issue his further mandate forbidding innovations upon the customs handed down to us from our predecessors . . . . but whence do we derive that tradition? Doth it not proceed from the Lord and his apostles? These are the vital questions; for we know that his written will is to be

[n] "Sententiæ Episcopales," sent. 87. De Hæret. Bapt., ap. *Cyp.* Op. p. 329. So also in a letter to one Pupianus, an African bishop, whom he rebukes for presuming to sit in judgment upon a brother bishop: "Tu qui episcopum episcopi, et judicem judicis te constituis," &c.

[o] This letter is not in the collection. Its existence is only known from the extracts contained in the letter of Fermillian of Cappadocia, to which we shall presently advert.

[p] So wide was the range of the correspondence of the church of Carthage at this moment; but not so either before or afterwards.

[q] Among the number was that to Pompeius, bishop of Labrata in the Tripolitan province, extant as No. 74, p. 138, of the Bened. edition of Cyprian's works.

followed above all things . . . . but heretical baptism is derogatory to the honour of God; it is a detraction from his glory," &c. He therefore calls upon Stephen to prove from the gospels, the acts, or the epistles of the apostles, that heretics should not be baptised, but only receive imposition of hands. "For," saith he, "herein Stephen presumptuously sets up the tradition of men against the divine appointment, not reflecting that God's anger is kindled *whenever human tradition is made to supplant or weaken the authority of the written word* . . . . the tradition of Stephen is of man, not of God. . . . For doth *he* (Stephen) give glory to God, who would communicate with one baptised by Marcion?[r] Doth *he* (Stephen) give glory to God, who, in disregard of truth and unity, vindicateth heresy against the Church? Doth *he* (Stephen) give glory to God, who befriendeth heretics, and thereby approves himself an enemy to Christians . . . threatening to excommunicate the ministers of God who stand up for the truth of Christ and the unity of the Church?" In the sequel, Cyprian denounces in the same tone of indignant sarcasm the insolent attempt of the Roman bishop to set up the traditions of his own particular church against the authority of Scripture, where he ingeniously discovers a special provision against heretical baptism; he closes his philippic by roundly asserting the duty of every Christian pastor to resort immediately to the gospel and the apostolic traditions[s] as the only fountain of Christian truth.

Letter of Fermillian of Cæsarea.

The comments of Fermillian of Cappadocia upon the violent conduct of Stephen[t] assume a tone of still more bitter invective. "The people of Rome," he observes, "do not uniformly hold the things handed down to them from the beginning, yet vainly pretend to apostolical authority. Heretofore differences have arisen between the Roman and the Eastern

[r] The true Cyprian must have known that Marcion had been dead some seventy-five or eighty years before his time. We believe this to have been an anachronism of the later fabricator of this letter.

[s] The "Acts" and "Epistles" of the apostles.

[t] This letter stands No. 75 in the Cyprianic collection, — ed. Bened. p. 142.

churches; yet have not the latter on that account been secluded from the communion of the catholic Church. Yet Stephen hath proceeded to such an extremity; with you he hath broken the peace; insulting thereby the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, who held heretics in abhorrence, and taught us to avoid them. . . . . But that which most astonishes me is, that he who so boastfully vaunteth the exalted place of his bishopric, contending that he holdeth *the very succession of Peter, upon whom the foundations of the Church are laid*, should introduce *other rocks*, and set up many new churches, all the while maintaining upon his own sole authority that the true baptism is to be found in Rome alone. . . . . But this Stephen, who boasts that he holds by succession the very '*chair of Peter*,' is warmed with no manner of zeal against heretics. . . . . Custom must, however, yield to truth; and though it be true that you of the African church did aforetime admit heretical baptism, you now very rightly reply to Stephen, that as soon as you discovered which way the truth lay, you forsook those errors which had nothing but custom to support them. But we (in the East), in fact, appeal to the more ancient custom, which is agreeable to the truth itself; against the particular custom of the Roman church we allege both the reason of the case and the custom too, therein abiding by the rule which was handed down to us from the foundation of the Church by Christ and his apostles." The writer concludes by vehemently apostrophising Stephen; charging him with patronising God's enemies; *cutting himself off* from the catholic Church, in the vain persuasion that he possessed the power to put all churches out of communion; with using vituperative language unbecoming a minister of the gospel; and betraying a total want of that forbearance and charity described by the apostle Paul as essential to the character of a Christian pastor.

A general review of the Cyprianic writings[u] will lead us to the conclusion that the writers of these documents

[u] Principally the treatise "De Unitate," &c. and the Letters

regarded the chair of Peter solely as the representative symbol of Church-unity, comprehending all the powers vested in the aggregate body; but only in its symbolical character; consequently conveying no authority to exercise a governing power over the rest to any individual member of that body. As long as each particular see kept the "doctrine of Peter," it *was* the "see of Peter;" and the representation of the Church-catholic was as complete in such see as in that of Rome, or any other church maintaining its stand upon the gospel foundation.[v] Though there was a strong disposition to regard the see of Rome as the living symbol of the unity of the episcopacy, and to assign to her a supremacy of rank,—perhaps of spiritual influence,—in the great body of the Church, we cannot arrive at the conclusion that within the third and fourth centuries the pretensions set up by the bishops of Rome were recognised by any considerable section of the Church-catholic. In the sense of all the testimony hitherto examined, the unity so strongly insisted upon does not imply a unity of external polity, but simply a spiritual bond, represented by the unity of the episcopacy as exemplified in the emblematic chair of Peter at Rome. But that representation is not allowed in any degree to disturb the natural equality of all bishops, nor to dispense with any one of the gospel virtues, alike incumbent upon all: it gave no power to issue commands and mandates to any member, or to break off communion with other churches, without the assent of the Catholic body. They applied the remarkable address of the Lord to Peter not to the person, but to the faith or "doctrine of Peter;" and in that doctrine they detected no reservation of power on behalf of any single member of the episcopacy to reverse the decisions of his colleagues within their respective competency, or to set up the traditions of any particular church as of universal or exclusive validity.

General historical inferences.

At the same time, however, it appears clearly enough

[v] Conf. chap. iii. p. 51, sup.

that within the period to which that testimony applies, the see of Rome had already put her own construction upon the "Tu es Petrus," &c.; that she had restricted the expression "upon this *rock* will I found my Church" to the person of Peter; and that she had, in virtue of a presumed transmission through a lineal succession of bishops from him, assumed paramount powers, subversive of the equality of the episcopacy, entitling her to claim legal obedience to her mandates, and to set up her own traditions in every particular of doctrine and discipline as of general obligation within the Church-catholic. But it ought not to escape observation, that concurrently with these lofty pretensions an antagonistic principle was gaining strength. The Church, considered as a body-corporate, was gradually assuming that oligarchical form which constituted the most serious of all the obstacles encountered by the "chair of Peter" in the acquisition and maintenance of the powers in question. An oligarchical body stood opposed to the monarchical unity proposed by Rome. Other churches put in their claims to a descent from St. Peter.[w] A general impression was entertained, that the Church as a whole, and every constituent part, was entitled to share in the merits of Peter as a common fund, and to regard him personally as the common parent; an opinion of a nature in a high degree hostile to that exclusive theory of representation set up on behalf of the chair of Peter at Rome. The progress of the conflict thus engendered must for ages to come form a very important topic in the history of the papal power.

Roman pretensions.

With the issue of the controversy respecting heretical baptism we are not materially concerned. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, it is said, interfered to soothe the heat of party-spirit; but with what success we are not informed. Eusebius has preserved to us two letters of that prelate: the first relates to the decline of the Novatian schism; the second is addressed to Xistus, or Sixtus, the suc-

Issue of the controversy of heretical baptism.

[w] *Simon*, Miss. and Martyrd. p. 116.

cessor of Stephen at Rome,[x] in which he notices the violent proceedings of the latter against Fermillian and the bishops of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Galatia, upon occasion of the controversy of heretical baptism. Whatever may have been the course ultimately adopted by the Asiatic churches, the Africans certainly made no submission to Rome in that matter;[y] but continued to rebaptise converted heretics down to the age of Constantine the Great.

[x] A.D. 258 or 259.

[y] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. vi. c. 3, 4, 5, with Valesius's note. Baronius (Ann. Eccl. A. 259, c. i. ii. iii.) affirms that Fermillian and his bishops, as well as those of Syria and Palestine, speedily came round to the opinion of Stephen. But Valesius sets him right. The unanimity alluded to in the first letter of Dionysius, he says, refers to the Novatian schism, and not to that of heretical baptism.

CHAPTER VI.

OLIGARCHICAL PERIOD.

Retrospect — Internal state of the Roman church — Ecclesiastical importance of Rome — Hippolytus on the state of the Roman church — Carpophorus and Calistus — Calistus bishop — Hippolytus against Calistus — His strictures upon Calistus — Oligarchical beginnings — Obstacles to inquiry — St. Jerome's view of episcopacy — Its primitive character — Compared with the pseudo-Ignatian and Cyprianic schemes — Apostolical Constitutions (elementary) — Allusive notices of "Apostolical Constitutions" — Ante-Nicene "Constitutions" — Their mythical form — Recensions and versions of the "Apostolical Constitutions" — The four versions and the Greek text — Alexandrian "Constitutions" — Coptic "Constitutions" — Syrian "Constitutions" — Æthiopic "Constitutions" — The Greek text — Church-polity *in prospectu* — Extracts from Greek text — The bishop — The layman — The sacrificing and mediatorial priesthood — The bishop "God on earth" — The priest, *sacerdos*, *ἱερεύς* — The deacon — Lay intrusion denounced — The bishop irresponsible — Bishop claims civil jurisdiction — Christian sacerdotium in the fourth century — The apostolical canons — Intent and character of the apostolical canons — Observations.

Retrospect.

NOTWITHSTANDING our inability to place implicit reliance upon the materials at our command, we have still been able to obtain some not unsatisfactory glimpses of the Church-constitution in the third century of Christian history. We have endeavoured to follow the successive changes in the Church-constituency from the simple congregational form; and have found that an arrangement originally of an inchoate and preparatory character had been gradually exchanged for a positive scheme, founded upon the idea of an external visible unity, which speedily imparted to the primitive congregational bodies all the attributes of corporate associations, taking to themselves in that capacity the whole divinity of the object to be accomplished. We have at the same time endeavoured to show how this gradual revolution was promoted by the trials from within and without to which the Christian profession had been exposed; and thereby to indicate the direction of the

impulse imparted to the governing authorities, and to trace the operations of that prevalent theory of representation whereby all the powers originally exercised by the constituency at large became centralised in a self-elected body of ministers, under the presidency of one of their own number; in short, to point out the foundations of that powerful oligarchy whose struggles with the monarchical principle of church-government advanced by the bishops of Rome form the most interesting topic of our narrative.

Internal state of the Roman church.

But before we pursue our proper subject through the important revolution in the affairs of the Church which ushered in the fourth century of the Christian era, it is desirable to cast a glance at the internal state of the Roman church itself during the period passed over, as far as our very scanty materials permit.

The apostle Paul bestowed the highest encomium upon the faith and practice of the earlier Roman converts;[a] but from the date of his epistle to the episcopate of Victor[b] we have not a solitary hint as to the internal state of that church, except such as may be gathered from the history of the several heresies to which we have already adverted. The Gnostic delusions had beyond doubt seriously disturbed that unanimity of faith which in the beginning had attracted the affectionate admiration of the Christian world. There is, however, reason to believe that the Roman church had maintained a gallant and successful warfare against the seductive theories of the Ebionite, Valentinian, and Marcionite heresies. But we have no reason to conclude that in this respect she is entitled to higher respect, or that she may justly claim any greater merit, than is due to the Christian body at large, in the effort to cast off the trammels of a theosophy as false and unsatisfactory to the wise as it was glittering and attractive to the vain and vulgar. Rome had, in the mean time, doubtless contributed her full amount of victims to the rage of the persecutor; though no definite or credible accounts either of their number or

[a] *Rom.* i. 8; xvi. 19.

[b] A.D. 193-202.

quality have come down to us.[c] The importance of the Roman church may have profited by the number of the witnesses to the truth she sent forth; beyond doubt she continued to be the centre of attraction both to the defenders and the adversaries of the Christian cause. Whenever a great service was to be performed to the Church, the champions of the faith chose Rome for their field of warfare. Thus, Ignatius rejoiced at the opportunity of bearing his testimony within its walls; thither Polycarp hastened to confer with Anicetus upon the much-vexed paschal question; and there Irenæus remonstrated with Victor upon his intemperate attempt to swell a ceremonial difference into an organic schism. Thither Justin the Martyr hastened to present his noble defence of the Christian cause to the rulers of the world, and to encounter the unthinking rage of the heathen persecutor, and the more dangerous malice of the sophistical mountebanks who engrossed the public instruction, and lived upon the credulous vanity of the educated classes. Tertullian from Africa for a time carried thither his zeal and his learning; and there Origen from Alexandria sought and enjoyed the society of the most distinguished fathers of the great metropolitan church.

Ecclesiastical importance of Rome.

These visits fall within the period of the great conflict with the Gnostic imposture. All that was good and true in philosophy or religion flowed towards Rome, and there encountered every agent of deceit and mischief that pride, rapacity, conceit, and ignorance could send forth. Valentinus, Marcion, Cerdo, and a host of theosophic jugglers of the same class, and probably with still more impure motives, flocked to Rome, in the confident expectation of substituting their schemes for the creed of the gospels, and establishing themselves in the government of the central church of the Christian profession. The fresh spirit of the gospel met the danger in earnestness and simplicity. The honest Christian re-

[c] Among the thirteen first bishops of Rome the martyrologists enumerate six martyrs, viz. Clement, Alexander, Sixtus or Xixtus, Telesphorus, Anicetus, and Victor. See *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont. tom. i. pp. 90, 99, 103, 107, 123, and 135. All these martyrdoms rest upon accounts so remote from the dates of the pontificates in question as to be wholly unworthy of credit.

solved to admit no gnosis but that of the written word, and turned away with instinctive aversion from any source of divine wisdom other than that which was revealed from the beginning. The capital of the world was the chosen battle-field of all sects and parties; and the church established there was regarded by the catholic community as their leader and champion in the holy warfare. We are therefore not surprised to meet with traces of that elation of spirit among the Roman ministry to which we have more than once had occasion to allude. And when we connect this lofty spiritual position with the political importance of the city, and the encouraging increase of the Christian population within its walls which had accrued during the two first centuries, we cannot overlook the probability that the resident clergy had begun to consider the church of Rome as the capital of the Church-catholic, much in the same way as the city of Rome was civilly regarded as the metropolis of the world. Such an impression would go far to account for the assumption of the proud titles so deeply resented by Tertullian.[d]

Hippolytus on the state of the Roman church.

We are left in the dark as to the name of the prelate who first took the titles of "Pontifex maximus" and "Bishop of bishops;" but the spirit which impelled bishop Victor to excommunicate at a word no fewer than five of the principal churches of Asia Minor would most naturally fix upon him this vast stride in advance of the Roman prerogative. It is, however, singular that Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, a suffragan or rural bishop of the Roman diocese, in his recently-recovered work on heresy, though by no means inclined to be sparing in his censures against the pride and vanity of Victor's successors, Zephyrinus and Calistus, does not notice this all-absorbing pretension. But the account he gives of the internal state of the Roman church within the first twenty or twenty-five years of the third century elucidates several particulars of interest to our narrative,[e] and does not in any degree tend to

[d] Chap. v. p. 107; and conf. ibid. pp. 103, 120 et sqq.

[e] The Chev. Bunsen gives us in his Hippolytus (vol. i.,—Letters to Archd.

convey the idea of a more humble and forbearing spirit than that attributed by Tertullian to the Roman prelates of his day. It should, however, be observed, that Hippolytus belonged to the puritan school of Roman divines, and is as little inclined to spare any departure from the rigour of established doctrine or discipline as any ecclesiastical disputant of that or perhaps of any other age. But this temper of mind, though it rendered him intolerant of the errors of others, does not appear to have mitigated that lofty conception of the episcopal functions and authority which he reprehends in the conduct and demeanour of his antagonists.[f] Men are not always prepared for the practical results of their own principles, when interest or party-spirit interferes between the adopted theory and its legitimate consequences.

Carpophorus and Calistus.

In the beginning of the third century of the Christian era Christianity had spread among all ranks in Rome. The emperor Commodus, the infamous son of the amiable and philosophic M. Aurelius, had a mistress named Marcia. This woman for a time possessed considerable influence over the voluptuous and bloodstained tyrant. She is reported by Dio Cassius to have been well inclined towards the Christians; and, judging from the epithet of a "God-fearing woman," bestowed upon her by Hippolytus, it is presumed that she was in secret a convert to Christianity. During

Hare, pp. 329 et sqq.) a very circumstantial account of the discovery, publication, character, and contents of the long-lost work of Hippolytus "against all the heresies" (*πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις*). His proofs both of the genuineness and authenticity of the work appear to me conclusive. But a few particulars may be agreeable to the reader. I have given them in App. F. at the end of this Book.

[f] An incidental quotation from the work of Hippolytus, ap. *Bunsen*, Hipp. vol. i. p. 333, has given occasion for the remark in the text. The bishop there describes his order as the "*successors of the apostles, and endued with the same grace both of high-priesthood and of teaching*, and being accounted guardians of the Church," &c. The Chevalier Bunsen observes on this passage, that, "interpreting it in the sense of the writers of the three first centuries, Hippolytus did not attach to the title of 'high-priesthood' any pagan or Jewish sense, but simply meant the office of a Christian bishop." It is, however, impossible to read his description of the episcopal function without something more than a suspicion that Hippolytus had in his mind, perhaps unconsciously, the parallel of the Christian ministry with the Jewish sacerdotium. I think it obvious from many indications, some of which have been already noticed, that the hierarchical leaven was working in the age of Hippolytus. To say the least of it, there lies the hint of a "*pontificate*" in the words above referred to.

the episcopate of Victor, one Carpophorus, a worthy Christian man, had a slave of the same profession called Calistus, and to him his master had intrusted the management of a bank of deposit which he kept in the well-known quarter of Rome called the "Piscina publica." Many Christian brethren and widows, in full reliance upon the integrity of Carpophorus, deposited their earnings there. But Calistus, the manager, embezzled the sums intrusted to him, and absconded. The depositors complained to Carpophorus; the latter pursued and recaptured the fugitive, and consigned him back to the servile occupations from which he had raised him to trust and confidence. After a time the brethren, we are told, interceded for him, with a view to afford him a chance of retrieving his character. Carpophorus yielded to their solicitations, and Calistus was set free for a time. But this person seems to have been one of those common instances of knavery and fanaticism combined, who compound for the indulgence of their favourite vices by an exaggerated display of religious zeal. The first use made of his recovered liberty by Calistus was to create a disturbance in a synagogue of the Jews while they were engaged in their Sabbath service. The enraged congregation seized him, and dragged him before the prætorian prefect Fuscianus, who, in spite of the intercessions of Carpophorus, caused him to be publicly scourged, and banished to the pestilential swamps of Sardinia—a sentence almost equivalent to death.

Some time afterwards, Marcia, desiring to do the Christians a good turn, sent for bishop Victor, and procured from him a list of the confessors who had been banished to Sardinia, promising to intercede with the emperor for their release. The name of Calistus was omitted from this list; for the rest a letter of pardon was obtained, and the eunuch Hyacinthus, a presbyter of the church, was despatched with the document to the governor of the island to claim and bring back the convicts. Calistus not finding his name among those of the other Christian captives, prevailed upon Hyacinthus by many tears and supplications to claim his liberation

among the rest. The application was successful; and to the serious vexation of bishop Victor, the reprobate Calistus found his way back to Rome. Carpophorus, his master, immediately banished him to Antium, that he might not bring further discredit upon the Christian profession.

Calistus bishop.

Whether at Antium or elsewhere, Calistus fell in with Zephyrinus, and after the death of Victor and Carpophorus appeared at Rome as the deacon of Zephyrinus, who succeeded Victor in the episcopate. There he is said to have so entirely ingratiated himself with his bishop, that he almost abandoned to him the government of the church. Zephyrinus himself is described to us by Hippolytus as a very unintelligent and ignorant person, and so greedy of gain as to be accessible to bribes. During the lifetime of Zephyrinus, Calistus had made such good use of his opportunities, that at the death of the former he was himself chosen to succeed him. At this point of time the Noetian and Sabellian heresies were making sad inroads upon the Roman congregation. Before he ascended the chair, Calistus, says our informant, had tampered with both heresies; but had broken with the Sabellians from apprehension of the censures of Hippolytus himself. After his elevation, however, he openly favoured the Noetian error, and gave their doctrine a turn favourable to his own selfish views. He set up a pretension to forgive sins; and affirmed that if a bishop committed sin, though it were a sin unto death, he could not for all that be deposed.

Hippolytus against Calistus.

But the capital errors laid to the charge of Calistus by his antagonist are unconnected with his previous history or his moral demerits. Hippolytus assures us that he was wholly careless about discipline; that he received into orders bishops, presbyters, and deacons, who had been twice or even thrice married. "Even a man," says the indignant censor, "who had married while in orders was subject to no kind of penalty! And what reply did Calistus make to these irregularities? He asked derisively, 'Did not the Lord say, Let the tares grow with the wheat?' Again

he asked, 'Were there not unclean beasts in the ark? and such there must always be in the Church.' No wonder, then, that his party increased marvellously." The bishop of Portus further insinuates that Calistus was wonderfully indulgent to single ladies of rank and fashion who might desire a substitute for a husband in the shape of a slave or lowborn freeman, without the inconvenience of children who might step between the family inheritance and their own relatives.[g]

His strictures.

But in these strictures there is so obvious a tone of party hostility, that we cannot place implicit reliance upon their circumstantial truth. Hippolytus was a devout hater of heresy and heretics, and a severe observer of disciplinarian forms. Calistus, it is clear, moved in a higher rank of society; he had, in despite of his servile origin, established himself within the sphere of court-life, and was no doubt inclined, in favour of his illustrious converts, to drop the veil over the severer features of Christian morality. His opponent—a rigid unworldly dogmatist—might watch his progress with the jealousy such latitudinarian practice was most likely to call forth; and in this disposition of mind no tale of slander might come amiss, no motives might appear too base to be imputed to the betrayer of Christian doctrine, discipline, and morals. Yet from his strictures upon the characters of two successive bishops of Rome, it appears that by this time the clergy were a class severely separated from the laity, and living under a different rule of life. Important restrictions had been introduced in the article of marriage. Bishops, presbyters and deacons were not allowed to marry more than one wife, and not at all after ordination;[h] thus in a great measure severing their pursuits and interests from those of ordinary life, and attaching them more exclusively to those of the Church personified in their order.[i]

[g] *Bunsen*, Hippol.,—third letter to Archd. Hare, vol. i. pp. 390 et sqq

[h] The practice of the Greek and the Latin Churches was identical. In fact, the majority of the Roman clergy during the two first centuries were Greeks.

[i] It might be too much to say that at this early period an idea of superior purity, which attached at a later period to a life of celibacy, had dictated these restrictions upon clerical matrimony. It is perhaps more probable that similar motives suggested the merits of celibacy in the days of Hippo-

Oligarchical beginnings.

And, in truth, the history of the Latin pontificate has its root in the earlier ecclesiastical polity; and must be sought in that of the episcopal and sacerdotal offices. We cannot therefore evade the inquiry into that state of opinion and practice, with reference to the ecclesiastical powers, which marks out the field of warfare between the episcopal and the papal schemes of church-government. A very superficial survey of the century preceding the accession of Constantine the Great discloses the approaching conflict between the monarchical and the oligarchical principles of church-polity. And when we find that, at as early a period as the first quarter of the fourth century, the principal churches of the empire—those, namely, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch—had established a control of a monarchical character over the circumjacent churches of the dioceses in which they were situated, we cannot but recognise one of the steps or stages by which Rome, upon a like principle of combined political and ecclesiastical prepotency, might arrive at a similar controlling power over all. The perfect equality of the episcopacy advocated in the Cyprianic documents never had any real existence. The minor churches were always, to a great extent, dependent upon those of the larger cities from which they were supplied, and had all along submitted to the regulating influence emanating from them as their spiritual parents and the head-quarters of ecclesiastical authority: thus clustering around Rome and Carthage and Lyons in the west; and around Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Ephesus, in the east, they appear towards the beginning of the fourth century as so many independent commonwealths, each subsisting under a modified monarchical form, and constituting, with reference to each other, a close oligarchy, acknowledging no superior but the Church-catholic—it may be—dimly symbolised or shadowed out in the unity of St. Peter's chair.

This prospective sketch was necessary to point out the course and channel of our narrative. We have, in the

lytus as those which induced St. Paul to recommend it to his converts,—1 *Cor.* vii. 32-40.

first instance, to estimate the progress of opinion and practice with reference to church-government within the latter part of the third and the whole of the fourth century. And in this part of our subject we have to deal with a variety of documents of so unmanageable a character as to throw almost insuperable obstacles in the way of any proper chronological arrangement. The prospect before us is involved in a haze of uncertainty in the points of authenticity, dates of composition, birthplace, and origin, which, like the mists which overhang a wide landscape, confounds and obscures, enlarges and displaces, the objects before us, so as to tax to the utmost the intelligence and experience of the wayfarer to measure his distances and to choose his direction. In examining these documents, it must be our study to gain some conspicuous station or eminence, from which we may trace the conflict of church-principles in the matter of external government, from its origin up to some given point of development; and, if possible, possess ourselves of the key to the mystery of the final triumph of the monarchical over the oligarchical principle, as far as the history of the fourth century can supply it.

Obstacles to inquiry.

And such a position, or station, presents itself in the view taken by St. Jerome, at the close of the fourth century, of the origin and character of the Christian episcopacy. In his commentary upon the epistle of St. Paul to Titus, he observes, that "until dissensions arose in the Church no difference was made between bishops and presbyters; but when, at the suggestion of the devil, it became common for men to say, 'I am of Paul,' and 'I of Apollos,' and 'I of Cephas,'—that is, when each teacher took to himself, as his personal disciples, not as the disciples of Christ, those whom he had reclaimed by baptism,—it was unanimously resolved that one person should be chosen from among the presbyters, to be placed in authority over the rest and have the general superintendence of the churches, in order that the seeds of schism might thereby be eradicated." He adds, "Let the bishops, therefore, reflect,

St. Jerome's view of episcopacy.

that it is rather to custom and usage than to divine appointment that they owe their superiority over their presbyters."[k]

Its primitive character.

In the last years, therefore, of the period under review, and nearly three-quarters of a century after the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state, we find the most eminent doctor of the Latin Church declining to place the title of the episcopacy upon the ground of divine ordinance, and expressly reducing it to that of religious expediency. The questions, therefore, present themselves unbidden—Was Jerome ignorant of the existence of the Ignatian and Cyprianic writings? or had those fabrications not yet made way enough in the Christian world to reach the learned circle of whom Jerome formed in some sort the centre? Setting aside the so-called "Clementines" and "Recognitions," are we to suppose that the more ancient and respectable compilations known as the "Apostolical Constitutions" and "Canons" had escaped his notice? or that he was inclined to treat them as harmless fictions, not perhaps incapable of some useful application on behalf of the hierarchical order so fully constituted in his age? Without attempting an answer to these questions, it may be observed, that the idea of episcopacy conveyed to us in the work of Jerome, as cited above, does not advance a step beyond the genuine Ignatian idea as deducible from the original Syriac text of his letters;[l] while, on the other hand, it presents a striking contrast to the hierarchical theory so fully unfolded in the supposititious writings of the martyr-bishop,[m] and in those attributed to Cyprian of Carthage.[n] Jerome's conception of the episcopal title and origin is hardly consistent with that *outward sacramental unity* so strongly insisted upon in the Cyprianic documents. The bishops, the presbyters, the deacons, as the visible constituents of the outward unity, must necessarily partake of the sacra-

Compared with the pseudo-Ignatian and Cyprianic schemes.

[k] *Hieronym.* in comm. ad Tit. i. 7.

[l] See chap. iii. pp. 67, 68, of this Book.

[m] See ibid. pp. 72 et sqq.

[n] See chap. iv. pp. 111 et sqq.

mental character imputed to the institution itself in those writings, and therefore no more scope or room for human or for growing religious expediency would remain than there was in the Levitical ordinances themselves. St. Jerome, in truth, rests the authority of the bishop upon the same grounds as those upon which it was placed by St. Paul in the passage commented upon,[o] namely, those of fitness and expediency; leaving the qualifications, where the apostle had left them, in the discretion of the electors or ordainers. There is, therefore, upon this important point a substantial agreement between the two authorities writing at the opposite extremes of the period before us, and at a distance of more than three centuries apart. Yet an intermediate scheme, generically differing from both, is observably growing up within the intervening space. We have already endeavoured to trace the origin and progress of that scheme from Clement of Rome, through the Ignatian and Cyprianic writings; we must now follow the subject through the remarkable productions known by the name of "Apostolical Constitutions" and "Canons."

Apostolical Constitutions (elementary).

The necessity of regulations, general and particular, for the government of the Church is so obvious, that we are not surprised at finding hints of the existence of such ordinances in the earliest ecclesiastical writers. Thus, in the first document of the post-apostolic age, the epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, we find allusion made to existing regulations, and arrangements respecting the ministry, adopted, as it should seem, in conformity with apostolical practice or recommendation.[p] About a century after Clement, Irenæus bishop of Lyons, in a tract touching upon the Christian sacraments, a fragment of which only has come down to us, alludes specifically to two collections or "Arrangements of the Apostles," containing certain apostolical views of the primitive character of the eucharist.[q] These may, with much probability, be supposed

[o] *Tit.* i. 5, to the end.

[p] *Clem. Rom.* Ep. ad *Cor.* § 44,—ap. *Jacobs.* Pat. Apost. p. 155.

[q] See the Pfaffian fragment ap. *Buns.* Hippol. tom. ii. p. 428. Οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολου-

to be the same with those appealed to by Clement, but certainly could not have been the work of that father himself.

Allusive notices—Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius.

We have no further notice of the existence of such a collection of rules or regulations till the middle of the fourth century; at which epoch Eusebius mentions a code of ordinances passing under the title of the "Doctrine of the Apostles;" but classes it among the mass of apocryphal or non-canonical writings then afloat in the world,[r] and passes by its contents in profound silence. A little later in the same century, Athanasius of Alexandria notices the same collection in nearly the same terms, describing it as a work which, though non-canonical, was sometimes permitted to be read to catechumens, as, upon the whole, instructive, and untainted with heretical corruptions.[s] Not long afterwards, the zealous Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, repeatedly speaks of the "Constitutions of the Apostles" as a work which, though neither in strictness spurious nor yet of canonical authority, may be regarded as generally useful in respect of its containing the "whole canonical order" without any mixture of false doctrine or departure from the subsisting ecclesiastical ordinances.[t]

Ante-Nicene "Constitutions."

These notices, slight as they may be, would lead to the belief that, even in the ante-Nicene period, the principal churches possessed collections or codes of regulations of reputedly apostolic origin, yet unendowed with that sacred character which would preclude differences, changes, or additions, either in form or substance. Neither is there any positive ground for believing that the earlier documents passing under the same names were identical with one another. Indeed the work, as it now lies before us, is obviously a

θηκότες ἴσασι, κ.τ.λ. "They who follow closely the *second* (of the) apostolical arrangements know," &c.

[r] Τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί. *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iii. c. 25.

[s] See the 39th festal letter of Athanasius,—Op. tom. iii. pp. 39, 40. Par. edit. And conf. a passage in a work entitled "Synopsis Sac. Script.," attributed to Athanasius, in which the "Doctrine of the Apostles" and the "Clementines" are said to be sometimes read to the people.

[t] *Epiph.* cont. Hæres., or "Panarium," ad Hæres. 45, 75, 80.

compilation from a variety of different sources; but no doubt incorporating the congruous discipline and practice of the several ecclesiastical bodies from which the materials were derived, all with the same characteristic of apostolicity appended to them. Thus the fiction of an oral tradition from the mouths of the apostles, through their secretary Clement, may have been adopted with a view to impress the vulgar with a high idea of the importance to be attached to them, without any deliberate intent to claim for them the authority of revelation.

Their mythical form.

But the dramatic and mythical form in which even the most ancient of the extant recensions of the Apostolical Constitutions appears, is not noticed by any Christian writer of the first four centuries. They are simply called by the names of "Apostolical Constitutions" or "Apostolical Doctrine;" but without remark upon their outward character or their special contents, except that they were not canonical, and that no other credit was due to them than that of useful and instructive compilations. But that form approaches too closely to the verge of imposture to be consistent with the purity and simplicity of the earlier state of Christian morality; and it may be reasonably questioned whether, in the more advanced stages of ecclesiastical polity, it did not at least answer all the purposes, and bring with it the advantages, of a deliberate imposture. As the sacerdotal interest gained ground—as episcopacy became more and more universal, and took to itself the sacramental character described in the pseudo-Ignatian and Cyprianic documents—as the clergy of each church drew more closely round their bishops, and the oligarchical principalities assumed an organic form,[u]—the separate ecclesiastical corporations would naturally become more and more anxious to settle themselves and their novel pretensions upon reputedly apostolical ground; and thus the "Constitutions" appeared before the Christian world bearing upon their face the authentic seal and impress

[u] The vi[th] canon of the great council of Nicæa gives manifest token of a great advance of the system alluded to in the text.

of the whole apostolical college, through their saintly amanuensis Clement.[v]

Recensions and versions of the "Apostolical Constitutions."

But we have now to trace, as far as the materials in our possession will enable us, the steps by which these documents were moulded to their ultimate purpose. The Greek recension of these "Constitutions" now in our hands never bore any other character than that of a compilation from different antecedent materials passing under the same general title. Without any further evidence than that of the work itself, it would be impossible to ascribe to it any kind of originality, or to identify it with that more primitive "doctrine" or "constitution" of the apostles noticed by Clement, Irenæus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius. But we have recently come into possession of three much more ancient codes bearing the same title, and in the same way purporting to have been written by Clement as the amanuensis of the apostolic college. And the result of a comparison of the later Greek recension with these versions proves that work to have undergone successive elaborations and adaptations, principally with the special view to the concentration of the legislative and administrative powers of the Church in the hands of the episcopal oligarchs.

The three versions and the Greek text.

The three versions or recensions of "Apostolical Constitutions" which are the subjects of this comparison are: 1. the recently-disinterred constitutions of the Alexandrian church; 2. those of the Coptic and Abyssinian church; and 3. a Syriac version of the same constitutions, as used in the church of Antioch. The first remark that arises upon this comparison is the obvious incorporation of the Ignatian forgeries in the later Greek text. But, as will

[v] It is possible that the mythic form was suggested by observing that Clement, the disciple of Paul, and the familiar companion of the apostles, had deposed to the existence in his day of ordinances purporting to emanate from them, bearing upon certain important points of discipline, &c. He *might* have been the compiler, therefore he *was* so; and thus from age to age the fiction would gain credit as it receded from the date of its presumed origin. There is a faintness, a lukewarmness, in the protest against them by the writers above quoted, that leaves us in doubt whether any but the more enlightened churchmen at all doubted their genuine apostolical origin.

shortly appear, a bare inspection of the two documents is sufficient to convince us that both proceeded from the same workshop. The coincidences not only of substance, but even of expression, show that in both the fabricator had the same objects in view—objects for which no scrap of independent ecclesiastical authority can be gleaned within the first four centuries; those objects being to lift the episcopacy to the altitude of an originally divine institution of universal obligation, and at the same time to raise the ministry at large to the dignity of a sacrificing and mediatorial priesthood.

A short notice of each of these three versions or recensions will be expedient.

Alexandrian Constitutions.

The Alexandrian Constitutions are cast in the same form as the more recent Greek text; but the contents are of a more simple and primitive character. It appears from this document that the lay constituency of the church of Alexandria enjoyed in some not very clearly defined manner the privilege of electing their own bishop. After diligent inquiry, it is there said, into the past life and conduct of the candidate, the people shall elect him; and he shall be afterwards consecrated in full congregation by the bishops of the neighbouring churches.[w] After that, he shall have power to ordain elders and deacons; the latter as his personal officers and assistants in the administration of the church, but without a vote in the presbytery. In this document the bishop appears to possess no higher prerogative than that of president of the presbytery and spiritual parent of all the minor orders of clergy. Though all appointments to ecclesiastical office are to be made by or through him, yet no claim to apostolical authority is put in on the score of dignity; and no advantage is taken of the fictitious form of the document to impart a divine right, or an irresponsible power[x] at all resembling that of the pseudo-Ignatian scheme, or, as will presently appear, of the Greek edition of these constitutions. The form and

[w] This provision corresponds accurately with the ordinance in the viii^th book, c. iv. p. 395, of the Greek text of Cotelerius.

[x] Conf. ch. iii. pp. 71 et sqq. of this Book.

the substance, however, of the Alexandrian code are plainly indicative of a date subsequent to the period of difficulty and persecution. In parts perhaps an attentive criticism might detect vestiges of earlier regulations; but in their existing state they present too minute and complicated a scheme to have been suited to the condition of the churches as long as their constituencies continued to exist in a state of civil outlawry and exposed to the capricious hostilities of their heathen enemies. There is at the same time a centralisation of ecclesiastical functions in the bishop, which points to a more advanced stage of hierarchical pretension. There is, in fact, so strong a resemblance between this code and the vii[th] and viii[th] books of the Greek text, that, after a few obvious interpolations and variances are allowed for, we have in those two books a tolerably pure version of the Alexandrian code, though under a somewhat different arrangement.

Coptic Constitutions.

The "Constitutions" of the Coptic and Abyssinian churches bear a very primitive character, and agree almost literally with the viii[th] book of the Greek text, more especially with those portions which treat of ordinations and ecclesiastical offices.[y] In its actual state it may be assumed to have been compiled about the same period with that of the Alexandrian church, from which the Coptic and Abyssinian churches derived their origin.

Syriac Constitutions.

The lately discovered Syriac version of these Constitutions, as used in the church of Antioch, gives a similar result, and points to the same age, and a like state of things as to discipline and church-government.

Æthiopic Constitutions.

The hitherto unpublished Abyssinian or Æthiopic Constitutions, we are assured, exhibit an earlier and more simple stage of church-polity than either of the three preceding—Alexandrian, Coptic, or Antiochian—codes. The Abys-

[y] The Chev. Bunsen here refers to the two purer Mss. of the Greek text existing in the libraries of Oxford and Vienna,—Hippol. vol. ii. p. 842, 1st edit. The Chevalier is of opinion that the vii[th] and viii[th] books of that collection formed originally separate and distinct works, which were subsequently incorporated with a chaotic farrago of ordinances culled from many sources—in a great measure from the pseudo-Ignatian writings.

sinian church is known to have been planted in the latter part of the fourth century by Alexandrian missionaries; its ordinances may therefore be safely presumed to have been a faithful transcript of the contemporaneous usages of the mother-church, and may thus afford the means—when fully known—of detecting later additions and interpolations in the Alexandrian and the other collections. In general there is good ground, from the strong resemblance between all these codes and the eighth book of the Greek text, to conclude that they are all of them mere amplifications of a much more ancient series, dating probably from the second century of the Church—derivatives, in fact, from those very codes and collections to which allusion is made in the works of Clement of Rome and Irenæus.[z]

The Greek text.

Looking at the three, or, more properly, the four, earlier editions of the Apostolical Constitutions, as they appear in the Alexandrian, Coptic, Antiochian, and Æthiopic versions, we may without danger of error regard them as faithful pictures of the church-constitution as it stood in the *fourth* century: and though we find in them a marked decay of the primitive congregational life, by the transfer of the more important popular powers to the ministry—that transfer, moreover, based upon and claiming the sanction of a *jus divinum* on behalf of the bishop and his clergy—though we find these changes either established or in rapid progress; yet the bishop was not as yet the ecclesiastical prince; he was still checked by his presbytery; and the democratic or congregational element retained sufficient vigour to bring the popular judgment to bear to some extent upon the bishop himself, as well as upon the whole administration of the church. But these obstacles to monarchical action were soon to be cleared away: a system of severe dependence and of irresponsible authority

[z] After reading with all the attention I can command the Greek text of the Apostolical Constitutions in Cotelerius's edition, I have adopted, from persuasion, many of the Chevalier Bunsen's observations upon them, as contained in vol. ii. of his "Hippolytus," pp. 395 et sqq.; reserving, however, his permission to differ as to the *innocency* of the mythical form in which these productions are cast.

was to be established; and accordingly, following in the tract of the Greek text, we find ourselves transported suddenly into the vestibule of a new dispensation.

Church-polity *in prospectu.*

The first thing that strikes the reader of *that text* is, the incorporation of the pseudo-Ignatian scheme with the older common law of the Church. We find the two systems or schemes to have somehow run into one another, forming together a more positive hierarchical scheme than any we have hitherto contemplated. And that scheme calls for a maturer consideration, because, if we mistake not, it will be found to lie at the foundation of that spiritual autocracy whose growth and development we have undertaken to unfold. Taking our stand upon all these documents, the prospect discloses in the foreground a vast but loosely compacted federation of independent spiritual oligarchs, connected with each other by a certain traditional subordination, to which our attention will be hereafter directed. At a further distance we perceive the minor constituency gradually merging in the more numerous and powerful bodies; and in the horizon we discern, as through the transparency of an Italian sky, all those elements which we have hitherto viewed in their isolation, fused into a single stoutly compacted polity based upon the same obvious errors, questionable assumptions, and garbled documents, to which the now humbled constituencies had themselves resorted for the overthrow of the congregational influence, and the establishment of their own authority as the "lords of God's inheritance."

Extracts from Greek text.

It is necessary here to lay before the reader some of the more important passages in the latest form of the so-called "Apostolical Constitutions," as contained in the Greek text of those documents. This course will, it is conceived, serve to mark the advances of the episcopacy in the fifth century, and more clearly to stake out the ground upon which the contest between the oligarchical and the monarchical principles of church-government was to be fought out.

"Therefore, O bishop, be careful worthily to main-

tain your place and dignity, as bearing the image of God among men[a] and presiding over all mortals, be they priests, kings, princes, fathers, children, doctors; for all are alike subject to you. So therefore sit and speak in the church as one endowed with power to judge transgressors; for unto you bishops it is said, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'"[b] The bishop.

"The layman is bound to venerate his good pastor—to love and fear him as his lord and governor—as the pontiff of God—as his director in devotion; for he that heareth him heareth Christ, and he that rejecteth him rejecteth Christ. He that receiveth not Christ (in the bishop) receiveth not God and the Father."[c] The layman.

The compilers then introduce the Clementine parallel, as noticed in a preceding chapter,[d] thus: "In the same manner as the Levites who ministered at the tabernacle of the testimony, *which is the exact type of the Church*, received liberally their portion of all those things that were offered unto God . . . . so likewise ye bishops, who labour in the field of God, shall live by the Church; since in your quality ye also are both priests and Levites to your people in the holy tabernacle, which is the holy catholic Church; standing and ministering at the altar of the Lord, to whom you offer reasonable and unbloody sacrifices, through Jesus Christ your high-priest. Be ye therefore unto your laity prophets, princes, captains, kings; be ye *mediators* between God and his faithful people, the receivers and dispensers of his word . . . . who *bear the sins of* all, and shall render an account *for* all. . . . . Be ye imitators of Christ the Lord; and as he bore the sins of all upon the cross, so must you also take upon yourselves[e] the sins of your people. Hear, therefore, O ye laity . . . . hear, thou holy and God-devoted Church . . . . listen The ministry a sacrificing and mediatorial priesthood.

[a] ὡς ἔχων Θεοῦ τύπον ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

[b] Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. ii.,—ap. *Cotel.* vol. i. p. 221.

[c] Ibid. c. xx. p. 230.

[d] Chap. iii. pp. 56 et sqq.

[e] ἐξιδιοποιεῖσθαι, to make one's own, to appropriate.

to what was said aforetime: 'To the high-priest, which is Christ, the heave-offerings, the tithes and the first-fruits;' and so in like manner the tithes to those that minister in his place. . . . . Now that which was aforetime victim (the Jewish sacrifice of blood) is now prayer and supplication; what were formerly first-fruits and tithes and gifts are now oblations, which by the holy bishops are offered up unto the Lord, through Jesus Christ, who died for the offerers themselves; for they (the bishops) are your high-priests, the presbyters are your priests;[f] your Levites are now the deacons, and in like manner your readers and doorkeepers, your deaconesses, your widows and virgins and orphans. But over all these stands your archpriest (the bishop)."[g]

The bishop the mediator-god on earth.

"The bishop is the minister of the word, the depository of all (saving) knowledge, the mediator between God and you (the laity); . . . . he is, after God, your father, inasmuch as he hath regenerated you by water and the Spirit unto adoption; he is your prince and your chief, your king and ruler; he is unto you, after God, *your god on earth*, unto whom you are bound to give all due honour: for of him and his fellows God hath said, 'Ye are all gods and sons of the Most High;'[h] therefore the bishop shall preside over you *as one endued with divine dignity*, in virtue of which he presideth over the clergy, and *commandeth* the laity. The deacon likewise shall assist him (the bishop) as Christ assisteth the Father; . . . . and in like manner let the presbyters also be unto you as *the representatives of the apostles*," &c.[i]

The priest—sacerdos, ἱερεύς.

The priest—sacerdos, ἱερεύς—is the basis and foundation of this transcendental prerogative of dignity, honour, and emolument. His office stands as high above that of kings and princes as he that hath charge of the immortal soul is above those who have the care of the perishable body. "By so much, therefore, as the soul is more precious than the body, in

[f] οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ὑμῶν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.
[g] Const. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxv. p. 238.
[h] *Ps.* lxxxii. 6. This quotation will recur in the sequel of this history, and in the like application.
[i] Ibid. c. xxvi. p. 241.

like degree is the priesthood exalted above the kingdom (civil power). Therefore it is your duty to cherish your bishop as your father, to fear him as your king, to honour him as your lord, to bring offerings to him for a blessing upon your persons, your substance, and the work of your hands; paying to him, as the priest of God, your first-fruits and your tithes, your heave-offerings and your gifts, the first produce of your cornfields, your wine and your oil, your fruits, your wool,—in short, of all that God hath given unto you."[j]

The deacon.

The endeavour to shift the basis of the Christian ministry from the new to the old covenant dispensation is, in fact, carried as far as the most determined symbolism could manage it. In dealing out the first-fruits, tithes, gifts, &c., the deacon or Levite, as the bishop's assistant, is entitled to double the share assigned to the inferior servants of the Church. The double of *that* again is to be dispensed to the presbyters, "in honour of the apostles," whose places they fill.[k] A single share is reserved to the reader, "in honour of the prophets;" and a minor allowance is assigned to the lowest grades of officials. The laity are permitted to communicate with the bishop only through his deacon, "because God is only to be approached through Christ." They are therefore directed "to worship the Lord in the persons of their pastors, and to regard the bishops as the organs of the oracles of God."[l] Of the deacon it is moreover predicated that he stands in the place of Aaron, as doth the priest in that of Moses; "therefore, since the Lord called Moses 'God,' so let the bishop be venerated *as God*, and the deacon as the prophet of God; . . . for he is the angel or prophet of the bishop, and standeth between him and the people."[m]

Lay intrusion denounced.

The deacon is, however, reminded of his entire dependence upon the bishop. All acts done by him without the order or sanction of the bishop are absolutely void.[n] And as to the laity, it is

[j] Const. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxxiv. p. 247.

[k] The bishop being regarded as the personal delegate of Christ himself. See the pseudo-Ignatius, as in chap. iii. pp. 72, 73.

[l] Ibid. c. xxviii. p. 243.

[m] Ibid. c. xxx. p. 245.

[n] Ibid. c. xxxi. and xxxii. p. 246.

said that if they in anywise intermeddle with the office of the clergy, or exercise any function in the church without the concurrence of the bishop, "it shall not be accounted to him for a good work, but on the contrary thereof, he shall be as Saul the rejected, and as Uzziah the leper; as the despised of the Lord, that meddleth with his priests and taketh their honour unto himself; contrary to the example of Christ, who did not glorify himself to be made a high-priest, but waited to hear the Father; and so the Lord sware unto him, and he shall not repent, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.' If, therefore, Christ did not glorify himself without the Father, how shall any man (dare to) intrude himself into the ministry, not having received that dignity from above, and to do those things which are lawful only for the priest? . . . . Therefore it is your duty, brethren, to lay your sacrifices and oblations at the feet of the bishop, who is your high-priest, either with your own hand, or through the deacons; and in like manner your first-fruits, your tithes, and your free-will offerings, bring ye unto him."[o]

The bishop responsible to God alone.

Thus it will be seen that Christians, though they might be exempt from all the services and ceremonies of the Levitical law, were sedulously required to discharge all the pecuniary obligations which the Jews paid to the ministers of the temple; for the priest of the new covenant is as fully entitled to these renders as he of the old covenant, both being the mediators of their respective dispensations. To the laity it is said, "It is your part to give; theirs to receive and dispense as the good stewards of the Church; therefore, *beware how you call your bishop to account*, or watch his dispensations too narrowly, or too curiously inquire in what manner, or to whom, or in what portions, or whether well or ill, or whether in the fittest manner, he deals out your gifts; *for he is accountable to God*, who committed the stewardship unto him, and pronounced him worthy of a priesthood of such high honour and dignity."[p]

[o] Const. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxvii. p. 242.

[p] Ibid. c. xxxv. p. 248.

We may observe, that in these documents the bishop further claims to be the legitimate judge in all causes between Christian parties. That regulation was beyond doubt highly expedient as long as the sovereign and the courts of law repudiated and persecuted Christianity; "for, as the ordinance runs, it is through them (the heathen tribunals) that the devil harasses the servants of God, and brings them into disgrace; making it appear as if you (the laity) had not any wise man among you[q] who could judge between you and decide your disputes." Though at the period at which these "constitutions" appeared in the form we possess them, the special reason for such a regulation had long since passed away, yet there can be no doubt that it formed a part of the older common law of the Church; nor is it at all probable that the bishops would at any time afterwards part with this jewel in the mitre, sanctioned as it was by aboriginal precept and a probably pretty uniform usage of more than three centuries.[r]

The bishop claims civil jurisdiction.

It is not probable that the Greek recension of the Apostolical Constitutions saw the light earlier than the fifth century. During the whole of the preceding period no mention occurs in any ecclesiastical writer from which their existence in this their latest form could be reasonably inferred; a circumstance very unlikely to have happened if an opinion which must have raised the writers themselves to the pinnacle of greatness and irresponsible power had really been in their time matter of public ecclesiastical principle. But if we compare this later form with the earlier collections already adverted to bearing the same title and in a great degree the same character, it is obvious that the churches had passed through several stages of advancement, from an earlier, simpler and more popular form, to a more complicated and exclusive scheme, investing the clergy with a properly sacerdotal character, and greatly reducing, if not annihilating, the primitive congregational powers. There is no doubt that in the age

The Christian sacerdotium in the fourth century.

[q] Conf. 1 *Cor.* vi. 5.
[r] Conf. Const. Apost. lib. ii. c. xlv. p. 256.

of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306 to 337) all the churches, with all their spiritual attributes, were substantially represented by their bishops, and that the spiritual powers were fast becoming centralised in the persons of the representative officers. But the time had not yet arrived for the Christian priesthood to take its final stand upon Mosaic ground, or to assume the attributes of Deity, as the personal representatives of God and Christ, and in that capacity entitled to all the reverence, all the unreasoning obedience due to Him whose organs they pronounced themselves to be; they were not yet held to be "gods upon earth," "priests after the order of Melchisedek," "priests and kings," "doorkeepers of the kingdom of heaven." The primitive congregational spirit was not yet so wholly extinct as to reduce the churches to submit to a dominion which cast all earthly power into the shade, and forestalled a state of things in which the world and its rulers should crouch at the feet of the mitred prince as the simple subjects and ministers of his oracular will.

The "Apostolical Canons."

About the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman recluse, published a Latin version of the canons of the Greek churches, to which he appended fifty supplementary canons from the same source, under the title of "Apostolical Canons;" purporting to be (like the Apostolical Constitutions) a series of decretal ordinances passed at a special congregation of the whole apostolic college, and dictated by the apostles to St. Clement (of Rome) as their amanuensis. Long before this version was made, it is known that the Greek churches possessed a collection of canons passing under the same name and for the greater part identical in substance, but containing eighty-five instead of fifty canons.[5] The outward form under which both collections appear is fictitious; and was adopted, beyond reasonable doubt, to impart to them the character of a direct expression of the divine will in respect of the government, dis-

[5] *Hardouin*, Concil. tom. i. pp. 10 to 34. The compiler gives the original Greek codex, with the version of Dionysius.

cipline, and ritual of the Church. In the Greek recension of the Apostolical Constitutions these canons (the eighty-five) are appended to and form a portion of the eighth book of that compilation, partaking thereby of the divine sanction claimed for the whole collection. Yet these canons not only never enjoyed the reputation to which their presumed origin entitled them, but were not known to the Church-catholic as one entire body of rules till the middle of the fifth century at the earliest. Individual canons found among the extant collections have been traced in quotation up to the middle of the third century; but it is manifestly improbable that they should have been acknowledged in that century as a code of rules of universal obligation. But after that age there was every inducement for such a compilation. The Church, relieved from persecution, and enjoying the protection of the state, could not but feel the want of a code of rules for general reference; and they who might succeed in collecting and reducing the various regulations prevailing in the principal churches into a uniform digest of canon law would entitle themselves to the gratitude of the Christian body. Accordingly, several such compilations were produced, embodying rules and regulations of all dates; some probably of primitive antiquity. The compilers, not content with the reverend origin they might fairly claim for the more ancient portion of their materials, chose to present the whole to the world as one entire work, proceeding from one mind and written by one hand. Particular ordinances among the series were, no doubt, traceable to the apostolic age, and may very possibly have enjoyed apostolic sanction.[t] Thus tempted, the compilers were induced to present the whole to the world as the workmanship of the apostles, and to impart to them the mythical form under which the only two codes of these canons known to us, that, namely, contained in the appendix to the Greek recension of the Apostolical Constitutions, and the version of Dionysius from a shorter recension of the same work, now appear.[u]

[t] Some particular canons are quoted by writers of the third and fourth centuries under the title of "Apostolical Ordinances."

[u] In this short account of the Apostolical Canons the dissertations of *Cote-*

Intent and character of the Apostolical Canons.

Still, it cannot be denied that the Church of the fifth century had lost much of its primitive integrity. The Christian world swarmed with forged, interpolated, and garbled documents, many of them tending to present a particular scheme of church-polity as a gospel dispensation. The primitive episcopacy had merged in the general design of a political episcopacy, and the apostolic bishop had been magnified into the mediatorial and sacrificing priest. This design is to the full as manifest in the "Canons" as in the so-called "Constitutions" of the apostles. Thus, the Church appears in this document furnished with a complete sacerdotal apparatus of the usual character; it has an altar and a sacrifice proper, with a variety of offerings, consisting of meats, vegetables, fruits, honey, wine, oil, and incense, with first-fruits and oblations payable to the bishop and the clergy.[v] Bishops, priests, and deacons are rigorously prohibited from engaging in any kind of worldly occupation.[w] A series of rules is adopted to protect spiritual jurisdictions against mutual intrusion, and to prevent domestic censures from becoming inoperative by foreign protection extended to delinquents.[x] In order to prevent unauthorised or merely speculative migrations of the clergy, it is provided that no foreign bishop, presbyter, or deacon shall be received in his clerical character in any other diocese, except he bring with him letters commendatory from his own church.[y] Strict measures are adopted to preclude all religious intercourse with deposed and excommunicated clergy and laity.[z] Among

lerius and Bishop *Beveridge* have been consulted. Beveridge expends much learning and rhetoric to prove, against Daillié, that these canons are not a naked imposture; but he fails to trace any of them much below the beginning of the fourth century, *i. e.* about the age of Constantine the Great. If the compilation deserved the character assigned to it by Daillié, it was unsuccessful. The so-called Apostolical Canons are alluded to by writers of the sixth century either with reserve and hesitation or with doubt and disapprobation; but this was owing, perhaps, rather to their inability to distinguish what was really apostolical from what was notoriously of later origin, than from any fear of imposture; a fear for which, in truth, there was very little ground.

[v] *Cotel.* tom. i. p. 442. See can. ii. appended to the viii[th] book of the Apost. Const.

[w] Ibid. can. iv. p. 442; can. xvi. p. 444; can. xxxvi. p. 448; can. lxxii. p. 452; can. lxxiv. p. 453.

[x] Ibid. canons xi. and xxviii.

[y] Ibid. canons xi. xii. xxvi. xxvii. p. 446.

[z] Ibid. canons viii. x. xi. xxi. and xxv.

the various offences which render bishop, priest, deacon, or inferior clerk liable to deposition or censure, that of simony stands foremost. "If bishop, priest, or deacon —it is ordered—shall obtain his office by the payment of money, or by suit to any secular prince, let him, as well as all who communicate with him, be deposed and cut off from communion, as was Simon Magus by me Peter."[a] The powers and prerogative of the bishop are strictly defined; to him is committed the whole economy, the absolute management and disposal of the property of the church;[b] for—it is alleged—if unto him are intrusted the precious souls of men, how much the rather ought he to have the disposal of their pecuniary means; to the end that the whole may, by his authority, and through the presbyters and deacons, be judiciously distributed to the indigent. But he shall be allowed to take no personal benefit, either for himself or his relatives, beyond what he may himself stand in need of, or may require for the purposes of hospitality; for by the law of God it is ordained that they who minister at the altar shall live by the same.[c] As to discipline, the presbyter and the deacon are forbidden to do any act without the knowledge and concurrence of the bishop; "for he it is to whom the people of the Lord are intrusted, and at his hands He shall require an account of their souls."[d] But "*the bishops of every nation* are bound to acknowledge him *who shall be the first among them* (the primate) as their head, and do nothing of general concernment without his knowledge and consent; neither shall he (the primate) do any act without the consent of all (the bishops); and thus there shall be unanimity, and God shall be glorified through Christ in the Holy Spirit.[e] The bishops of each province shall hold synods twice in each year, to discuss questions of religion and settle ecclesiastical differences," &c.[f]

Some observations touching the scheme of church-legislation, which these documents[g] disclose, obtrude

[a] *Cotel.* canons xxii. xxiii. p. 446.
[b] Ibid. canons xxxi. xxxiii. xxxiv., ib.
[c] Ibid. can. xxxiv. p. 448.
[d] Ibid. can. xxxii. p. 447.
[e] Ibid. can. xxvii. p. 446.
[f] Ibid. can. xxx. p. 447.
[g] The Apostolical Constitutions and Canons.

themselves unbidden on our attention. 1. The canons, or rules of church-government, flowed from the east to the west; and after the union of the Church with the state, under Constantine, they naturally fell into harmony with the principle of the secular government. After that union, at least, every impediment to the full development of the hierarchical scheme was removed; and when the time came for the promulgation of the monarchical principle, the minds of all were prepared to adopt in the Church forms corresponding with those to which they were accustomed as subjects of a despotic state. 2. Though this tendency, in the first instance, redounded to the advantage of the spiritual oligarchs who ruled the churches (patriarchs, primates, archbishops), yet the disposition of the Roman church, already adverted to, to place herself on a higher episcopal level than the rest, must have been greatly stimulated by the very principle which had already concentrated almost all the ecclesiastical powers in the hands of the bishops; and therefore, to whatever extent Rome might be successful in pushing her claims, she would be the better prepared to take to herself the whole benefit of that principle, and to combine in herself all the prerogatives of which the bishops had successfully ousted the laity and the inferior orders of the clergy. Whatever any other bishop was, or might pretend to be, Rome was *that* already in the highest sense. She was preeminently apostolical; her social and political influence surpassed that of all other churches; her bishop was the reputed occupant of the chair of Peter, and the representative of his authority, whatever that authority may have been held to be. And if the theory of representation could be thus triumphantly applied to the exaltation of the episcopal powers, how much more effectually might it be appealed to when, according to the Cyprianic oracle, the bishop of Rome had become, by official descent, the living representative of the primary principle of ecclesiastical and sacerdotal unity![h] 3. This result was further promoted by the total overthrow of the congregational element in the constitution of the

[h] Conf. sup. chap. v. pp. 113 et sqq.

churches. The laity are alluded to in the documents before us as the passive subjects of the bishops, without suffrage in any matter, excepting perhaps a tumultuary voice in the election, or rather the inauguration, of the bishop. The prelacy, in ridding themselves of this check upon their local autocracy, had at the same time divested themselves of all popular support against the encroachments of their more powerful neighbours. Thus the Egyptian churches had fallen under the rule of Alexandria; the Syrians, under that of Antioch; the Africans, under that of Carthage; the Italians, under that of Rome. Patriarchs and primates now took the places of the congregational prelacy; and the contest with the aspiring pontiffs of the metropolis was transferred from the broad basis of a truly catholic representation to a few independent oligarchs, always intent rather upon the enlargement of their domestic prerogative than upon the maintenance of that vital combination upon which the permanence and safety of that prerogative ultimately depended.[i]

These observations will, we believe, frequently recur to the attentive reader in following the current of our narrative.

[i] Conf. chap. v. p. 126.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTANTINEAN PERIOD.

Retrospect—Powers of the Church: I. Episcopal arbitration. II. Power of excommunication and censure—Excommunication in Scripture—Episcopal excommunication—Primitive idea of excommunication—Extent of the power. III. Appellate jurisdiction claimed by Rome—Essential character of a court of appeal—Instances—Polycarp and Anicetus—Alleged appeals of Fortunatus of Carthage—Of Basileides and Martialis—Of Martianus of Arles—Appellate jurisdiction not claimed by Rome within the first four centuries—Tone of intercourse between Rome and other churches—Favourable position of the Roman church: 1. Her preeminent station among the churches—2. Her resistance against heresy—3. Her social and political rank—4. The fiction of the cathedra Petri. Prospects of the Church—Present effect of the conversion of Constantine—First measures of Constantine—Advantages of Rome in the distribution of the imperial favours.

Retrospect.

The testimonies hitherto examined show important changes in the government of the churches since the close of the second century.[a] The Christian association had dropped that voluntary and purely spiritual character impressed upon it by the apostles. Christianity was now the religion of the state; it enjoyed the protection of the government; church-polity had in a great degree fallen into conformity with the autocratic forms of the civil state; the popular or congregational rights had almost disappeared;[b] instead of the two primitive offices sanctioned by the apostle, we

[a] Conf. ch. iv. pp. 76 et sqq., and ch. v. pp. 128 et sqq.

[b] A passage in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. viii. c. iv.,—ap. *Cotel.* i. p. 395) indeed directs that the election of the bishop shall be made by "all the people;" but it provides also that the candidate chosen shall be the "best man among them"—ὡς ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν—"who, being put in nomination and approved (by whom?), the *people*, with the presbytery and the bishops who shall be present, shall give their consent." It is not stated who were to be the judges of the candidate's fitness; and at the probable date of the Apostolical Constitutions it may be easily imagined that the popular share in the election would not have been very great.

find in the Roman church, and probably in all the greater churches, a full establishment, consisting of bishop, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, precentors, cantors, readers, janitors, deaconesses, widows, &c.—all these being included in the order of the clergy, and strictly severed from lay interests and occupations. The bishop, no longer the paternal president of his presbytery, now stands at their head as the sovereign; as high above them in dignity and power as Christ himself above his apostles, or, to descend to earth, as the monarch above his ministers. His authority was by this time shifted from the genuine apostolical ground to that of the old covenant; with no imaginable view but to impart to it that immutability which attaches to divine ordinances, yet at the same time aspiring to a dignity as far above that of the Jewish high-priest as the priesthood of Christ transcended that of Aaron. All discretion or power of adaptation in forms of church-government was at an end. Where there was no bishop, there could be no church; to strike him out, or to retrench his powers, was to dethrone Christ; to reject the presbytery were to dishonour the apostles; to disparage the deacon were to insult the "prophet of God." The bishop was at the same time the representative of the unity of the Church; he was the abstract principle of combination converted into a personal reality; and all who deserted him deserted "the Lord who bought them." Such attributes were palpably inconsistent with freedom of censure in any subordinate quarter; and this we shall find was the theoretic ground upon which the episcopal authority reposed without contradiction from the fifth to the sixteenth century.

Our attention must now be engaged by two peculiarities in the church-constitution of the fourth and fifth centuries. The *first* of these is the limited right of secular jurisdiction acquired by the bishops in the preceding ages; the *second*, the powers of spiritual censure and excommunication as exercised by the churches within the same period; both together forming the basis of one of the most important prerogatives claimed by

Powers of the Church.

Rome in virtue of the chair of Peter,—the claim, namely, to a supreme and universal appellate jurisdiction in all causes and over all persons subject to the sacerdotal judicature, wherever and by whomsoever exercised.

Episcopal arbitration.

I. Among the circumstances which contributed most to strengthen the hands of the Christian ministry, there was none more effectual than the custom of referring all civil disputes between Christian parties to the arbitrament of their pastors. St. Paul had forbidden his converts to resort to the heathen tribunals. The meanest members of the Christian association formed in his opinion a better tribunal than the heathen magistrate.[c] The practice of the community had, however, very generally—probably universally—cast the office of referee upon the bishop.[d] The article upon this subject in the Clementine Constitutions rests no doubt upon earlier practice, afterwards converted into an ordinance.[e] The right, once acquired by the episcopacy, was not lost sight of when the reason of the institution had ceased to exist. In the fourth, fifth, and subsequent centuries, when such a person as a heathen judge was not to be found, the bishops still laid claim to an extent of civil judicature to which we shall hereafter have occasion to allude. At present it is only necessary to remark, that the same principle which vested this right in the episcopacy, would, as soon as the idea of the unity of the ecclesiastical powers became centered in the one representative head, tend to establish in that head a controlling power transcending the limits of spiritual judica-

[c] 1 *Cor.* vi. 1-9.

[d] Cardinal *Baronius* (Annal. Eccl. ann. 57, p. 427) finds no difficulty in fixing the judicial character in secular disputes between Christian parties upon the bishop *jure divino*, in right of his office. The "sapiens" (*σοφός*) in the passage quoted in the preceding note, must, he says, denote the *bishop*. He argues the matter thus: "The judicial power vested in the Church of God springs not so much from apostolical institution as from our Lord himself. For David of old, and after him Paul more explicitly, describes Christ as a priest after the order of Melchisedek; so that, inasmuch as the latter is called the 'king of justice' (rex justiciæ) and the 'king of peace,' and received tithes from Abraham and blessed him, so likewise Christ, whose name is 'priest and king,' and who is to reign for ever and ever, as well in his Church below as in the heavens above." The bishop, therefore, who is Christ's representative, is the "rex justiciæ," the judge by *divine right!*

[e] *Cotel.* Pat. Apost. tom. i. p. 246,—in the Const. lib. ii. c. xlv.

ture, to the same extent, at least, as that of the episcopacy had encroached upon those of the civil tribunals. When the time should come for the Melchizedek of Rome to proclaim himself both "priest and king," a foundation of ancient usage would not be wanting upon which to rest his pretensions to the functions implied in the latter article of his hierarchical prerogative.

II. The powers of spiritual censure and excommunication come next under our notice. The latter power is one of two things: it is either a faculty lying within the natural competency of every association of men, to exclude from the benefits of that association all who have become unfaithful to the principles upon which it was founded; or it is a power introduced by special provision into the fundamental rules of the association by the founder himself, or by those to whom he had delegated an authority to that effect. In the gospels our Lord directs that if a brother offend, the injured party shall first privately admonish the offender; the former shall then take witnesses with him to attest the justice of his complaint, and to urge the duty of redress; but if the culprit shall refuse to listen to the admonitions of the complainant and his witnesses, there shall be an *appeal to the Church;* and if the wrongdoer refuse to listen to the Church, he shall be unto the brethren "as a heathen man and a publican." The Lord then promises to ratify their decision by the words, "Whatsoever ye (the apostles on behalf of the Church) shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[f] Power of excommunication.

These expressions sound more like a promise to support his disciples in the proper exercise of their natural right than the grant of a new power. They import rather an admonition to the exercise of a duty primarily incumbent upon them than an authority to take upon themselves a power they could not otherwise have been called upon to exercise. For that authority they seem to have been referred back to their inherent right to exclude wrongdoers from their society; and all that is here

[f] *Matt.* xviii. 18.

added is a simple direction how to exercise that right in the strictest conformity with the principles of their Master, accompanied by a promise that, if it be so performed, he will ratify the performance in heaven.

Scriptural excommunication.

The precept just considered appears, however, to have been applicable to *private* differences only between Christian brethren. In the case of *public* offences we have an instance of the apostolic mode of procedure in the sentence pronounced by Paul upon the Corinthian criminal; where the apostle directs the church of that city to assemble together, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ solemnly to deliver over the offender to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, if possible for the salvation of his soul.[g] This injunction may, at first sight, appear to go a step beyond the natural competency of every society in the management of its internal affairs; for it seems to inflict a punishment of some kind, with the double view of ridding the Church of a peccant member, and, if possible, of rescuing his soul from perdition. But the passage is open to a simpler explanation, approaching closely to that we have ventured to give of the directions of Christ to his apostles. The offender having by his reception into the Church professed himself a subject of Christ's kingdom, and now, by his transgression, cast himself back into the realm of Satan, the prince of this world, he must be dealt with as a subject of Satan; in order that by such treatment he may, through a sense of shame and regret for the loss of Christian fellowship and comfort, be induced to mortify the flesh, and by repentance recover his lost privileges.[h]

In another place St. Paul recommends, that if any member of the Church he addresses should refuse to "hear his word," the brethren should decline all intercourse with him, that he might be ashamed. "Yet (he

[g] 1 *Cor.* v. 3-5.

[h] It should be observed, that the offence of the Corinthian delinquent was of a carnal nature, consequently the words εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός may be rendered "to the mortification of the flesh," as reasonably as the common version "to the destruction of the flesh." If this exposition be correct, we have here a simply remedial, not a penal measure.

adds) count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."[1] The object of this injunction is clearly remedial only; having, not the punishment, but the reformation of the offender for its end. Each member of the community is individually charged to avoid intercourse with such a person, in order that, being shunned by all, he may be brought to a sense of the sin he has committed.

We discern in these passages the regulated exercise of a power to exclude dangerous or unworthy members from the communion of the faithful, with one or two very simple precepts as to the best mode of exercising it; sounding, upon the whole, very unlike a special legal provision, either for imparting a right which did not exist before, or for defining a preexisting natural right strictly and formally, upon the authority of the legislator himself. They bear the impress of a simply practical confirmation of a natural function, needing nothing more than a direction how to exercise it in conformity with the principles of the association itself.

Episcopal excommunication.

Thus we conceive the question of excommunication to stand upon Scripture precept and example. It was then, as it is now, the right and the duty of every individual Christian, without any authority from the church to which he might belong, to avoid intercourse with all persons whose conversation and example he might think dangerous to his own spiritual welfare; and when the offence was of a public and notorious character, it was the duty of all to unite in suppressing the nuisance. But though the instructions to which we have alluded were delivered rather to individuals in the Church than to the collective body, the precepts themselves soon obtained a much wider application; with the growth of external organisation they assumed a positive and a *penal* character. The bishops, as the representatives of the supreme Head of the Church, stepped into his place; and, in virtue of that representation, took upon them to expand the precepts into a penal code, assuming to themselves the exclusive ad-

[1] 1 *Thess.* iii. 14, 15.

ministration of that code, with the sole right to preside as judges at the trial of all offences that might fall within its provisions, and lead to censure or to final excommunication.

Primitive idea of excommunication.

But within the first three centuries the bishops had been slow to apprehend the full import of the representation in question. This is apparent in the hesitating language used in reference to the so-called "power of the keys,"—in other words, the authority afterwards so boldly claimed, in *the place of Christ*, to retain and remit sins.[j] Without going more particularly into the evidence upon the subject, it may be stated in general that the Church of the first four centuries regarded excommunication in the threefold light of a remedial, a defensive, and a corrective measure. As a *remedy*, it was made use of to exclude corruption and corrupt example, to prevent heathen and heretical contamination, and to deter from offences against the discipline of the Church by excluding detected and convicted offenders from the advantages, spiritual and temporal, of Christian society: as a *defensive* measure, it was of the highest value to the Church, by convincing the heathen that she was fully alive to the frailties of her own members, and rigidly determined to correct them; so that, by the exclusion of ill-conducted or worthless persons, she might deprive her adversaries of all occasion to lay the crimes of individuals at her door:[k] as a mode of

[j] At the date of the Cyprianic documents (certainly not earlier than the fourth century) the writers abstain from a direct pretension to remit and retain sins: "Quâ ex causâ necessariò apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt . . . . lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacrum salutare, a diabolo vulneratis per penitentiam medela queratur: *non quasi a nobis* (episcopis) *remissionem peccatorum consequantur*, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam debitorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere *cogantur*." *Fermill.* ad *Cyp.* ep. 75, p. 144. Excommunication and other spiritual censures were still regarded as simply remedial measures. Notwithstanding the very explicit substitution of the bishops for the Saviour in the theory of representation set forth in the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, I do not find any equally explicit claim to the "power of the keys." Throughout the first four or five centuries of the Church there is an obvious shrinking from this final step in the progress of substitution, though it would be difficult to explain such hesitation upon the principles of the documents upon which the episcopal authority reposed.

[k] Conf. 1 *Cor.* v.; 1 Pet. ii. 12; *Tertull.* ad Nationes, lib. i. c. 5.

correction, it answered the purpose of recalling offenders to a sense of their guilt, and thus preparing them for reconciliation with the Church or body of the faithful; so that, when convinced by such outward signs of repentance as to the best of human judgment might vouch the sincerity of the inward change, she might lay her hands upon the penitents in token of readmission into the community of the faithful.[l]

Extent of the power of excommunication.

The powers of excommunication and censure were vested both in the catholic Church acting as a single body and in every recognised section of that body. But it is clear that within the four first centuries no individual church, without the concurrence at least of a majority of the churches, was believed to have the power to exclude any one or more among the number from communion with the body spiritual. It was upon this precise point that the controversy between Victor and Irenæus, as well as that between Cyprian and Stephen, mainly turned.[m] Yet it is equally clear that the Roman bishops had within the third century claimed an authority, in virtue of the chair of Peter, to put out of communion whole sections of the Christian association who had presumed to maintain usages and traditions adverse to those of the particular church of Rome. And although Cyprian is, by his later editor, represented as holding no body of tradition as of purer pedigree than these, yet no sooner is an attempt made to use them as an instrument for overthrowing the perfect equality and concurrent jurisdiction of all bishops than we find Irenæus and Tertullian concurring with the Cyprianic writers in unanimously asserting other traditions, setting up different usages, and denying the right of the Roman bishop of his own mere motion to exclude others from the communion of the Church; declaring such a proceeding to be schismatical and suicidal, and to operate, in fact, not to the prejudice of the

[l] Conf. *Cyp.* ad Antoninum, on the treatment of the lapsed, the libellatici, and others who had fallen away during persecution,—ep. 52, ed. Bened. pp. 66-77. See also ep. 75, ibid. p. 144.

[m] See sup. ch. v. pp. 103, 104, 121, 122.

churches assailed, but to the exclusion of his own from the communion of the rest.[n]

The appellate jurisdiction claimed by Rome.

III. We believe that it has never been asserted that the claim of the church of Rome to a universal appellate jurisdiction over the decisions of all other churches had been formally affirmed, declared, and published within the first three centuries of Christian history. But it has been stoutly contended that such a jurisdiction had within that period been practically recognised; and that it was so recognised in virtue of a presumed grant to St. Peter of an extraordinary superintending power over the whole Church and all its ministrations, which passed by that grant from our Lord to him, and from him to his successors in the chair he is said to have filled.[o] And, no doubt, the practical admission of such appellate jurisdiction *upon that ground* would, if borne out by the facts, furnish very important evidence in support of the general claim.

Essential character of a court of appeal.

But before we can regard any kind of appellate jurisdiction as established by evidence of custom or practical recognition, we must convince ourselves that the judge or the court proposed are not mere voluntary referees, or private arbitrators chosen by the parties: next, we must feel assured that all the parties concur in the reference, and thereby agree in recognising the jurisdiction; because no act of appeal by one of several parties can impart authority to any tribunal it may please him to refer his cause to as against his opponent: then, in the last place, it must fully appear that, even in case all are agreed upon the reference, and have come under binding engagement to abide the decision, such reference is not a merely occasional resort for the sake of convenience, or from confidence in and preference for a particular referee, but that the conduct of all the parties proceeds from a sense of legal obligation—that the motive of reference is in its whole character preceptive and compulsory. We may

[n] We have seen on two occasions the same Cyprian interposing the authority of a provincial synod between Rome and the objects of her attack, and in one of them indignantly denying her prelate the title of "Bishop of bishops." Conf. ch. v. pp. 119 et sqq.

[o] Conf. ch. iii. pp. 51, 52.

therefore try the practical admissions insisted upon by Rome in support of her appellate jurisdiction by these tests; and we must be ready to admit that, if a series of uncontradicted references from the decisions of provincial churches, and of unqualified submission on their part to the award of the Roman bishop upon the causes submitted to him, can be clearly proved, such evidence would go some way to prove a customary appellate authority and jurisdiction in the latter, unless accompanied by circumstances tending to show the voluntary or noncompulsory character of the reference.

Instances: Polycarp and Anicetus.

Some disposition exists to ascribe the visit of Polycarp of Smyrna to Anicetus of Rome, upon the litigated paschal question, to a sense of dutiful deference on the part of the former to the exalted authority of Rome. The result, however, of the conference was, that the dispute was amicably laid aside upon perfectly equal terms, neither party claiming a right to direct or control the practice of the other.[p] The first case that may seem to bear upon the question of appeals to Rome is reported by Epiphanius bishop of Salamis. He says, that in the episcopate of Pius bishop of Rome,[q] the heresiarch Marcion of Pontus arrived there, after having been excommunicated for incontinence by his own father, a bishop of that province. On his arrival in Rome he applied to the elders of the church for admission to their communion; this they declined, and, in answer to Marcion's remonstrance, alleged that they had no power to act without the consent of their reverend colleague his father.[r] This proceeding, it has been contended, was, in reality, an application by way of appeal to Rome against an episcopal adjudication, and it now figures in the catalogues of admissions noted down by the pontifical advocates.[s] Yet, even supposing it to

[p] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. iii. c. 14. Conf. sup. ch. v. p. 102.

[q] According to the ordinary chronology, between the years 142 and 157. *Bunsen* (Hippol. i. 163) dates the commencement of the episcopate of Pius ten years earlier.

[r] *Epiph.* adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 12. This story seems, however, to be one of the many calumnies current against the pious and learned but eccentric and dangerous speculator Marcion. Conf. *Bunsen*, Hippol. i. 163. *Smith*, Gr. and Rom. Biog. art. "Marcion."

[s] *Bellarm.* de Pont. Rom. lib. ii. c. i. p. 802.

have borne the character of a reference of a complaint to the see of Rome (of which there is no mention), the answer returned was in substance—"We have no jurisdiction, and cannot hear the case without the consent of the other party."

Appeal of Fortunatus.

The Cyprianic writings have, in like manner, been cited to show an early recognition of the right contended for by the church of Rome. In consequence of the disputes in the church of Carthage respecting the treatment of the "lapsed,"[t] the intrusive bishop Fortunatus had sent his friend Felicissimus to Rome to persuade Cornelius bishop of Rome to recognise his title in opposition to that of Cyprian, as the friend of apostates. Cornelius thereupon, we are told, wrote to Cyprian, demanding an explanation of the charges preferred against him, of setting himself up as the advocate of false brethren, and reproaching him with neglect of certain letters from him (Cornelius) respecting the election of Fortunatus. Cyprian in reply sent back an elaborate defence of his own conduct: he traced all the heresies and schisms that had divided the churches to the weakness of the principle of obedience, and insisted upon the necessity of upholding the authority and independence of the bishops: to which end it was indispensable that no single bishop should have any dealing with one who, like Fortunatus, came before him with the brand of schism upon his front. This passage is, however, immediately followed by a paragraph which, by management, might be made to neutralise the uncompromising assertion of right contained in the preceding sentence. Cyprian is made thus to conclude his remonstrance: "And yet, after all this, they (the dissidents) have dared to resort to Rome, and to exhibit to the *chair of Peter*—that *principal church whence the sacerdotal unity takes its rise* —letters from convicted schismatics and profane persons; forgetting that they were addressing those very Romans whose faith the apostle Paul had so highly commended —those from whom false pretenders had never yet been able to obtain a hearing."[u]

[t] Conf. sup. ch. v. pp. 117 et sqq.

[u] Epp. *Cyp.*, ep. xlix. p. 63. I enter-

But this abrupt eulogium upon the chair of Peter is followed by a very clear and peremptory assertion of exclusive jurisdiction on the part of the African church. "They (the dissidents)," he says, "well know the tribunal to which their cause properly belongs; for it hath been unanimously resolved by us—and the same is also conformable to justice and equity—that every man's cause should be heard there where the matter of charge arose; and that to every pastor a certain portion of the flock should be assigned, to be under his sole direction and government; he rendering unto the Lord an account of his stewardship: therefore, it behoveth not those over whom we preside to go about, by guile and falsehood, plotting the subversion of the solid unity of the episcopacy; on the contrary, it is their duty to carry their complaints there where the accusers dwell, and where testimony may be procured—unless, indeed, this handful of desperate and abandoned men should bethink them to maintain that the bishops of Africa, who have already adjudicated on their case, and convicted them of manifold offences, have only a *secondary* or inferior authority in the Church."[v]

The African church, therefore, not only asserts her own competency, but repudiates foreign jurisdiction in matters of domestic difference. She declares such matters to be triable only by that section of the Church within whose pale they arise. As to the question, therefore, of the appellate jurisdiction of Rome, it is of no moment what view was entertained by Cornelius of the application of the schismatics, or by those persons themselves of their right of appeal; the primary tribunal having explicitly asserted the finality of its own deci-

tain a strong suspicion that this passage is an interpolation of a later Roman editor of the Cyprianic documents. The connection with the foregoing paragraph is very loose, and the unqualified assertion of independence which immediately follows is hardly consistent with an acknowledgment of a paramount authority — a chair of Peter — a principal church, &c. The idea of a "sacerdotal unity" was, indeed, in all probability, pretty generally adopted when the Cyprianic writings first saw the light; but that impression is not likely to have started up in the mind of the writer when engaged in defending the independence of his church against an unauthorised pretension.

[v] Epp. *Cyp.*, ep. lv. pp. 79-89. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. liv. vii. §§ 7 and 8, vol. ii. pp. 240-246.

sion, and the exclusiveness of its own jurisdiction over the matter in hand.[w]

Alleged appeal of Basileides and Martialis.

The application of the Spanish bishops Basileides and Martialis to Stephen of Rome is, at the same time and with the same view, put forward as evidence of a general acknowledgment by the Christian world of the appellate jurisdiction claimed. This case has been already alluded to in relation to the supposed Cyprianic theory of the "chair of Peter."[x] It need only to be observed in this place, that here, as in the controversy about heretical baptism,[y] every pretence of jurisdiction on the part of Rome, whether original or appellate, over the adjudications of foreign churches upon domestic disputes, was peremptorily repudiated, and accompanied by an explicit assertion of the independent authority of the episcopacy within their several provinces or associated districts.

Appeal of Martianus of Arles.

Martianus, bishop of Arles, is described to us in the Cyprianic writings as one among the western prelates who had embraced the merciless tenets of the Novatians against those who had lapsed into idolatry during the Decian persecution.[z] Cyprian, thinking that Stephen of Rome had been remiss in warning the churches of Italy and Gaul against this unchristian prejudice, wrote him a letter calling upon him to exhort the bishops of the latter province to exercise their synodal powers, with a view either to bring Martianus to a sense of his error, or to remove him from his office in the Church. In conformity with his own practice,[a] he

[w] See an ingenious note of the Benedictine editors of Cyprian upon the words "ecclesia principalis,"—ad ep. lv. p. 459. The papal writers are very reluctant to abandon the appeal of Fortunatus and the apology of Cyprian as evidence of acknowledgment of the appellate authority of Rome. They rely principally on the passage subject to the grave suspicions adverted to above, and upon the laboured defence of Cyprian, which, they maintain, would have been unnecessary if he had not written under a sense of canonical responsibility.

[x] Chap. v. pp. 119 et sqq.

[y] See particularly chap. v. p. 121.

[z] Conf. sup. ch. v. pp. 117 et sqq.

[a] When Novatianus, the intrusive bishop of Rome, sent the usual letters of communion to Cyprian, the latter is represented to have taken the advice of a council of sixty bishops of his province, and to have rejected the title of Novatian. He is reported to have pursued the same course on several other occasions; in short, the frequency and numbers of the councils he is supposed to have convoked afford no unimportant ground of suspicion against the documents which pass under his name.

recommended Stephen to pursue the like conduct within the ecclesiastical districts subject to his influence or jurisdiction which he (Cyprian) was in the habit of following in the African church. But it has been inferred from this that Cyprian admitted the right of the see of Rome to a general control over the Christian episcopacy, and that the letter was in fact an appeal to Rome against the resolutions of a foreign church in favour of a schismatic movement. But we search the document in vain for any admission of claim or prerogative which the writer did not believe himself possessed of, or was not ready to exercise upon a proper occasion.[b]

Appellate jurisdiction not claimed by Rome within the four first centuries.

But, referring to the allusions in the Cyprianic writings and elsewhere to applications to Rome from foreign churches, the inquiry suggests itself, whether the facts really authorise the presumption that the church of Rome had, during the period over which these precedents extend, *ever really intended to set up a formal claim to a universal power of control, by way of appeal*, over the episcopal acts and synodal decisions of Christendom. The following considerations may incline us to think that no such formal design was, at the period of the publication of the Cyprianic letters, either imputed to the church of Rome, or had been distinctly entertained within her own bosom.

In the primitive Church the election of the bishop or presbyter was always a matter of the greatest publicity. The clergy and the laity assembled at one and the same meeting; and as many of the neighbouring bishops as could attend made it a matter of duty to be present. It was customary for the new bishop then to notify his election to all the metropolitan churches[c] by emissaries

[b] Epp. *Cyp.*, ep. lxvii. p. 115. See the candid note of *Baluze* in notes to the Benedict. edit. p. 488. The comments of *Baronius* (Ann. Eccles. ann. 258, § 10) upon this letter are damaging to his own cause. This zealous writer is very apt to bestow his best energies upon the most unpromising materials. *Fleury*, with better judgment, abstains from all inferences,—H. E. tom. iii. pp. 275, 276.

[c] The primitive "metropolitan" churches were those established in the capitals of the provinces of the empire, as, for instance, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Ephesus, Jerusalem, Carthage, Milan, Arles, &c. The word had no reference to jurisdiction, but simply to the civil character of the cities.

bearing letters from himself and the church which had elected him. This was his first official act; for until he was incorporated into the unity of the episcopal order he was not yet officially known to the catholic body, and his acts could not claim the validity due to recognised authority. Every new bishop therefore hastened in the first instance to obtain the recognition of his own metropolitan colleague, and afterwards that of as many of his provincial brethren as were within his reach. The metropolitans, on the other hand, notified their election first to the bishops of their own province, and next to as many other metropolitan bishops as would insure the necessary notoriety of their appointment to all Christendom.

In this mode of procedure we discern ample reason why bishops of conspicuous station should have been anxious to secure the recognition of the metropolitan of the empire. The greatness of his church; the facility and frequency of communication between Rome and the provinces; the intentness with which the eyes of the world were fixed upon the great capital of the empire,—constituted her the herald of the church established within her walls, in the same degree as she had become the organ of the state. That which was known and proclaimed at Rome could be unknown in no part of the empire; that which was recognised at Rome was *primâ facie* rightly and lawfully done. If there existed any where a questionable title to spiritual office, the defect might be ostensibly cured by her fiat, if that fiat could by any means be procured. To her, therefore, the schismatic bishops of Spain and Africa resorted, not with a view of promoting a judicial inquiry into the propriety of the sentences delivered by provincial bishops or synods, but to enlist Rome as a partisan, advocate, or moderator, in their cause. Rome was indeed fully conscious of her influence in these capacities, and, as we have already seen, was by no means reluctant to make use of it; yet the evidence hitherto produced does not warrant the conclusion that the presumptive chair of Peter had, up to the close of the fourth century of the Christian era, laid claim to an appellate jurisdiction over the prelacy of the Church-

catholic in any formal or dogmatic sense, or even by any expression of opinion issuing from that chair itself.

Tone of the intercourse between Rome and the other bishops.

In general some light is thrown upon the relations of rank or subordination subsisting between different persons or parties by the mode and tone of their intercourse with each other. Among the Christian churches doctrinal unity had hitherto been habitually expressed by unfettered interchange of counsel and advice in all cases of doubt, difficulty or danger. The most numerous, the most exposed, and therefore the most experienced churches, were resorted to with the greatest confidence; and in the necessary qualifications for conveying advice and assistance in such cases none could excel the see of Rome. Yet, for the four first centuries at least, the correspondence with that see was carried on upon terms of perfect equality. The bishop of Rome was addressed by the provincial prelacy as "brother" and "colleague;" the mode of communication was by letters or special messengers selected from their own clergy (legates), or both; the letters, and the answers returned, were conceived in terms of unbounded freedom; they bore no impress of command, or mandate, or official injunction, on the one part, or of submission or dutiful subordination on the other; they shone forth as the natural expression of mutual confidence and affection, or of unrepressed indignation and resentment when the difference rose in importance, or the misconduct complained of was conceived to abound with mischief to the Church. In reprehension, indeed, the freedom of expression amounted to license; and it is manifest that no regard for rank, or any sense of inferiority, stood in the way of the sincerity and freedom of rebuke. The synods of the several churches,—African, Spanish, Asiatic,—take upon themselves to legislate for their respective communities in perfect independence; and communicate their decisions to each other in a tone of confidence in the rectitude of their own intentions, and reliance upon the brotherly acquiescence and indulgence of their more distant brethren.[d]

[d] The reader is referred to Epp. *Cyp.*, epp. xlvi. xlvii. xlviii. xlix. liv. lv. lvii.

Favourable position of the Roman church.

Yet, within the period now under review, there were many circumstances attending her position to bring the church of Rome prominently before the world, and to prepare the mind of the Christian community to yield a more distinct assent to a primacy of jurisdiction, as well as of rank, than any that was conceded within that period. To these circumstances we must allude here, even at the risk of some repetition. Among these circumstances we notice, in the *first* place, the natural impression produced by the conspicuous station which she occupied among the churches, and the exalted reputation she enjoyed for those virtues which were most esteemed in the stage of distress and difficulty through which they had passed. The apostle Paul exulted in the introduction of the faith at Rome;[e] for Rome was the metropolis of the civilised world,—the epitome, as it were, of the vast empire over which she ruled. The majority of the known races of mankind acknowledged her preeminence of rank; her subjects looked up to her as the storehouse of religious, philosophic, and political wisdom, as well as of the forms and fashions of social life.[f] When Christianity had taken root there, the faith of the Roman converts could no more be hidden than a city upon a mountain could be withdrawn from the gaze of the traveller. No sooner, therefore, had the religion of Christ fixed itself in the capital than the fame of the occurrence went forth to the world: Rome, the mistress of the nations, had accepted the Gospel! Rome, the ruler of the world, she who had hitherto served idols, had become the handmaid of Christ![g] And in this there was great cause for exultation. The hand of Providence appeared visibly to have selected the church assembled in that city to be from the beginning the champion of the general cause. The provincial churches watched her demeanour in the arduous position in which she was placed with anxious affection and reverence; they admired the simplicity and fervour of her faith, the purity

lxxiv. lxxv. in the Benedict. ed. Conf. *Cent. Magd.* lib. iii. c. vii. p. 170. *Heidegger*, Hist. Papat.

[e] *Rom.* i. 8.

[f] *Polyb.* lib. i. Proœm.

[g] *Heidegger*, Hist. Papat. p. 7.

of her doctrine, the excellence of her discipline, her munificent charity, her unbounded self-devotion. Her outward form was from the beginning episcopal; yet, in her own conduct, and the language of her eulogists, we rarely meet with pretensions to any other kind of pre-eminence than that which arose from preeminence in patience and perseverance and suffering in the cause she had embraced.[h]

Her resistance to heresy.

A *second* circumstance which added greatly to the credit and influence of the church of Rome is the general purity of her doctrine, and her steady resistance to that oriental mysticism which, even before the death of the apostle John, had polluted the churches of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The sincerer members of the Christian community trembled for the integrity of the faith; they remembered the apostolic prediction, how that after their departure "grievous wolves" should assail the fold of Christ; and how that, even from among themselves, men should spring up speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.[i] The irruption of the Gnostic delusions verified the prediction; and all true-hearted disciples looked anxiously abroad for support against the corruptions of Ebionites, Cerinthians, Simonians, Nicolaitans, Basileidans, Valentinians, Marcionites, and that host of heretics and theosophic jugglers which started up within the two first centuries of Christian history. And, though it may not be said that the Roman church passed wholly untainted through the ordeal,[j] yet it must be admitted that, upon the whole, she rendered good service in dispelling these delusions, and winning back the perverts

[h] It is not meant to be affirmed that the seeds of ambitious pretension had not been sown in the bosom of the Roman church within the four first centuries, or that a prospect of indefinite aggrandisement had not loomed in the view of the Roman prelates. I cannot but regard the conduct of Victor and Stephen and Calistus as exceptional; neither can I repose sufficient confidence in the Cyprianic writings to draw from them any certain conclusion respecting the temper and disposition of the Roman pontiffs in the age they purport to describe. Hippolytus is too much of a partisan to be implicitly trusted. I am therefore under no apprehension of serious error in presenting the account here given as conveying a generally correct description of the bearing of the Roman church and her prelates during the period in question.

[i] Conf. *Matt.* xxiv. 24; *Mark* xiii. 22; *Acts* xx. 29, 30; 1 *Cor.* xv. 35; 1 *John* iv. 3.

[j] Conf. chap. vi. pp. 131 et sqq.

to the simplicity of the gospel-truth. Her moral conduct, if not irreproachable, was generally correct; in endurance she was worthy of all commendation; she was exemplary in the renunciation of those selfish and enervating indulgences which might unfit her for the great struggle in which she was engaged. For these merits she was rewarded by the confidence and affection of the provincial churches; and thus it happened, that the frequency of reference to her spiritual experience, the deference and respect with which her counsels were sought, the anxiety with which her course was watched and imitated, gave a singular colour of authority to that extraordinary spiritual influence we find her to have exercised on several occasions within the three or four first centuries of her existence.[k]

Her social and political rank.

A *third*, and perhaps the most important, advantage enjoyed by Rome was her acknowledged supremacy of social and political rank. By the introduction of Christianity as the religion of the state, Rome was invested with the twofold character of the religious and the political capital of the world. In the preceding ages she had, notwithstanding her lofty spiritual claims, frequently divided the regards of Christendom with the Syrian and Asiatic, the African and Gallic churches. But now that all the authority naturally resulting from her social and religious station had become the subject of state recognition and positive legislation, the mind of the churches felt itself subdued and humbled, and prepared silently to acquiesce in claims resolutely and perseveringly asserted—claims which she thus succeeded in clothing with that air of antiquity which, in the affairs of life, often renders it difficult to distinguish between courtesy and custom, between habitual practice and positive precept. Under the new circumstances in which the church of Rome was placed by state patronage, the rule and practice of Roman church-government naturally assimilated itself to the forms of the imperial polity. Accordingly her admonitions assumed the tone of mandates; her interferences—

[k] Conf. chap. v. passim.

whether given by way of advice or arbitrament—took the character of appeals, rescripts, ordinances; her discipline was presented to the world as the model by which all other churches should be required to frame or to reform their own,—her ritual, as the pure apostolical order of devotion, from which none could depart without the sin, or at least without incurring the danger, of schism.

The fiction of the cathedra Petri.

And here we might take notice of a fourth advantage possessed by the see of Rome at the period of the accession of Constantine the Great, in the reputed spiritual descent of her bishops from St. Peter in his ostensible character of prince, or chief, of the apostles of Christ. But we do not think that, at the period in question, that opinion had obtained such a general assent in the churches as materially to promote her claims from acquiescence or submission. In the age of Constantine, we believe it will appear that this prepossession, to whatever extent it may have prevailed, had not yet acquired that consistency and strength which was necessary to overpower the established forms of church-government, or to check the tendency to oligarchy; the growth of which we have endeavoured to trace in the preceding chapter of this work. But after the union of the Church with the state, the historical issue presents itself clearly enough to our view. Hitherto all the chances of political power had been shut out from the prospects of the Church. Spiritual jurisdiction, enforced by spiritual censures, had constituted the extreme limit of clerical pretension. But now that the rickety fabric of polytheism had yielded to the assaults of a powerful dogmatic scheme of faith, uniting in itself and clearly proclaiming all that mankind had ever felt most needful for the support of his frail morality, his feeble intelligence, and his indistinct prospects of the future—now that the government of the Church, by which that mighty scheme was represented, had flowed into the same channel with the world's government—now it is that we perceive in the distance the great question, whether both were to be in future conducted by the same hands as heretofore, or whether,

Prospects of the Church.

from the very nature of the elements engaged, a conflict ending in monarchy was not the inevitable fate of the then existing church-constitution.

Present effect of the conversion of Constantine the Great.

For the moment, the effect of this great revolution was to cast the Church into the arms of the civil state. When the churches came to consider the vast benefits conferred upon them by Constantine; when they compared their late condition with the present, exulting now in the sudden triumph over all their enemies, and the acquisition of something more than perfect religious liberty,—it would have been surprising indeed if the rights of so mighty a protector and moderator had not been cheerfully conceded. The conversion of Constantine was the result of state-policy operating upon such religious sentiments as might consist with heathen ideas of the Divine nature and His interference in the affairs of the world.[1] He favoured Christianity because he believed the God of the Christians to be a more potent divinity than those he had hitherto served; but his faith rested mainly upon the political advantages to be derived from the adoption of the religion of Christ; and in the establishment of that religion his mind reverted instinctively to the habitual policy of his predecessors. Like them, he was anxious to unite all his subjects under one form of religious practice, as he desired to unite them under one sceptre. Thus far there was a certain correspondence between his idea of unity and that generally entertained by the Christian body. He, too, desired an *outward visible unity*, which should combine the influential portion of his subjects in dutiful obedience to the throne which protected them. Thus the religion of the emperor became in his view of it at once the *religion of the state;* and the Christians eagerly and gratefully embraced the imperial opinion.

In pursuance of these views, Constantine commenced his operations against the old religion. Seven years after the defeat of Maxentius he suppressed the practices

[1] See *Neander's* judicious observations upon the conversion of Constantine,—*Kirch. Gesch.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 20-24.

of private superstition among his heathen subjects, and drove them to the public altars and temples, where they might be more easily watched and controlled.[m] While he curtailed the functions of their priesthood, he extended the privileges of the Christian clergy by exemption from all secular offices,[n] lest they should thereby become entangled in worldly affairs and be withdrawn from the service of God.[o] A short time afterwards, he suppressed certain religious establishments of the heathen more particularly offensive to the Christians;[p] he promoted the latter in the more important offices of the state and in the government of the provinces; and held out to his heathen subjects such temporal motives to conformity as he knew would be most likely to swell the number of converts, and gratify the appetite for proselytism, which, in the case of all novel opinions, grows with the success it meets with, without much regard to the means employed to accomplish it.

First measures of Constantine.

Whatever credit may be due to the exulting enumeration to be found in the papal historians of the honours, endowments, and pecuniary benefits conferred by Constantine upon the bishop and church of Rome,[q] there can be no doubt that *that* church partook largely of the imperial munificence. The bishop was transferred from a humbler dwelling to a spacious palace;[r] the estates and endowments confiscated in the Diocletian persecution were restored; new places of worship were erected; and, if we may trust the traditions of the Roman church, the splendid basilicæ of the Lateran, the Vatican, St. Paul extra muros, St. Agnes, St. Lawrence, St. Marcellinus, St.

Advantages of Rome in the distribution of imperial favours.

[m] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. xvi. l. 1 and 2. "Aruspices et sacerdotes et eos qui huic ritui adsolent ministrare," &c.

[n] "Ab omnibus omnino muneribus"—"ab omnibus omnino communibus et civilibus rerum publicarum ministeriis immunes," &c.

[o] *Sozom.* lib. i. cap. 9. *Baron.* Ann. 312, § xxxix.

[p] Such, for instance, as the temples of Venus at Aphaca and Heliopolis in Phœnicia, and the temple of Æsculapius at Ægea in Cilicia. *Libanius*, de Templis, ap. *Neander*, K. G. iv. p. 50.

[q] *Baron.* Annal. 312, §§ lxxx. to lxxxv.

[r] Very probably to the identical "ædes Laterana," to this day the patriarchal palace of the popes. *Baronius*, ubi sup.

Peter in via Lavicana, were built and endowed at the expense of the state.[5]

In the following chapter we pursue the history of the relations established by Constantine the Great between his government and that of the Church.

[5] But very little reliance can be placed upon the legends of Anastasius the librarian, whose credulity and ignorance are our stumbling-blocks at every step. *Baronius* (ad ann. 324) adopts his story with unflinching faith. The history of the baptism of Constantine, in the "Acta S. Sylvestri" in the compilation of Anastasius, is the clumsiest of fictions.

CHAPTER VIII.

NICENE PERIOD.

Management of ecclesiastical affairs by Constantine the Great—Relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical powers—Constantine convokes a general council at Nicæa—His management of the council—His method of management—Position of the Church under Constantine—Position and pretensions of the church of Rome at this epoch—Elements of the pontifical power—Distribution of ecclesiastical powers—Præfectures, dioceses, vicariates, provinces—Metropolitan bishops—Introduction of Patriarchates or Eparchiæ—Arian and Meletian controversies—The first general council—Motive of the convocation—The Canons of Nicæa—the fifth canon—The *Eparchiæ* of the Nicene fathers—Rome and the other *apostolical* sees—Foundation of Constantinople—Infirmity of her title to the patriarchate—Her elevation and powers under Constantine.

During the lifetime of Constantine the Great not a murmur was heard against his frequent interferences in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. When the Donatist disturbances in Africa gave trouble to his government, he ordered the bishops of Cologne, Autun, and Arles,[a] to whom Miltiades, or as he is sometimes called, Melchiades, bishop of Rome, was afterwards added, to inquire into and determine the differences between the African dissidents and their orthodox opponents. These prelates assembled in the Ædes Faustæ Lateranæ at Rome, and gave judgment in favour of Cæcilianus the orthodox bishop of Carthage, against the intrusive Donatist bishop. In the following year the latter appealed to the emperor against that decision, and Constantine issued his precept to the bishops of Italy and Gaul to meet at Arles in the Pro-

Management of ecclesiastical affairs by Constantine.

[a] Calonia Agrippina, Augustodunum, and Arelate.

vincia Romana to rehear the cause, with a view to the restoration of civil and religious concord in the African churches.[b] Subsequently he heard the cause in person at Milan;[c] and imposed silence upon the irritable faction which had so long embarrassed the government and disturbed the peace of the African provinces.

Relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical powers.

Popular seditions occasioned by religious dissensions are matters of serious interest to governments. Constantine convoked the councils of Rome and Arles of his own mere motion, without an idea of any intermediate authority between himself and the Church, whenever it should suit him to put the spiritual powers in motion for the purpose of appeasing discord or tumult among his subjects, or of supporting the civil by the aid of the ecclesiastical power. There does not indeed appear to have been any inclination on his part to dictate to the assembled prelates in regard to the matters submitted to their consideration; but when the question is started, by what authority, in the opinion of the age, the powers of the Church-catholic were to be set in motion, we find the initiative in all cases to have been spontaneously yielded to the civil government. Neither the church of Rome, nor any other ecclesiastical body, had as yet conceived the idea of a spiritual government independent of the head of the state. The reverence entertained for the great metropolitan bishop of the empire was as yet too much of a symbolical and spiritual nature to encourage the notion of a temporal prerogative as flowing from the spiritual preeminence already yielded. That prerogative was therefore, without hesitation or reflection, abandoned to the emperor whenever the pressure of circumstances or the exigencies of the state required the interference of church-authority.[d]

The same observations apply to the convocation and

[b] *Baron.* Ann. 313, 314.

[c] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. x. cc. v. vi. Conf. *Vales.* de Schism. Donatist. cc. x.-xiii. pp. 781, 782.

[d] Valesius, the lay pupil of the Jesuits, denies that the Donatists appealed to the emperor against the decision of bishop Miltiades and the Roman synod. But the facts are against him. See his Dissert. de Schism. Donatist. cc. vii. viii. pp. 779, 780. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 314; *Cent. Magdeburg.* cent. iv. pp. 550 et sqq., and pp. 584 et sqq.; *Neander*, Kirch. Gesch. vol. ii. part i. pp. 282 et sqq.; *Heidegger*, Hist. Pap. p. 20.

management of the great council of the Church assembled by Constantine at Nicæa in Bithynia in the year 325. The mutual asperities of the orthodox and Arian parties in the East, especially at Alexandria, had proceeded to the length of civil sedition and bloodshed.[e] Alarmed for the internal peace of the provinces, the emperor signified both to the bishop Alexander and to his antagonist Arius his highest displeasure at the unbecoming and dangerous demeanor of their respective followers; and exhorted them to embrace as Christian brethren, without striving to force their respective tenets upon each other. But amid the hubbub of passion and party-spirit which always distinguished religious controversy in the East, the emperor's exhortations were unheeded. He therefore resolved to convoke a general meeting of the prelacy of the Church, with a view to procure their intervention to supply the religious sanction requisite to the maintenance of the civil laws.

Constantine convokes a general council at Nicæa.

The conduct and language of Constantine on this occasion, as on that of the Donatist troubles, prove that the interest he took in the controversy turned rather upon the political consequences than the religious merits of the questions involved. He seems, indeed, to have in the first instance inclined to treat the questions[f] so fiercely contested in the Eastern world as matters transcending human comprehension, and therefore beyond the domain of controversy. But his mind gradually attached itself to those views, which, indeed, after nearly three centuries of fluctuating warfare, were finally triumphant in Christendom.[g] The party in the Church of which Athanasius archdeacon of Alexandria was the acknowledged champion obtained a decisive victory in the council of Nicæa. The creed, or compendium of Christian doctrine, there agreed upon was signed by 200 out of the 320 bishops attending the council, and was adopted by the emperor. The majority

His management of the council.

[e] *Euseb.* de Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 4.

[f] Those, namely, of the *ὁμοούσιον* and *ὁμοιούσιον*.

[g] By the conversion of the last of the Arian princes, Reccared, the Visigothic king of Spain, in the year 587.

of the semi-Arian or Homoiousian party, with Eusebius of Cæsarea at their head, subscribed with the rest—the greater number against the stomach of their prejudices, and solely from deference to the imperial will. Constantine opened and closed the sittings of the fathers in person, and occasionally presided at their deliberations. Among the vexatious questions which had for a long time past disturbed the religious community, the season for celebrating the Easter festival was not the least irritating and dangerous. Constantine felt that unity of religious faith and practice was, in the temper and disposition of that age—perhaps it is so in every age—indispensably necessary to the stability of the secular government. By the weight of his authority an ordinance was issued for the uniformity of the observance; and this was announced by encyclical letters despatched by his command to all the churches of the empire.

His method of management.

The principle and the method of the emperor's conduct throughout his interferences in the affairs of the Church are very intelligible. When he saw how little prospect existed of reconciling the parties by rational argument, mutual concession, and forbearance, he threw his weight into that scale which seemed to him to preponderate, and which was perhaps upon the whole most consistent with his own views and those of his actual advisers. And when a decision in conformity with this policy was obtained, he forthwith invested that decision with the authority of the civil law, requiring legal obedience, and guaranteed by legal penalties.[h] The privileges of the Church were therefore to this extent adopted into the state with the stamp of imperial approbation upon them,[i] and Constantine looked for the same obedience to his ecclesiastical decrees as that which was due to the civil laws of the empire. And accordingly both parties to these disputes alternately fell under his displeasure.[j] At one time Arian bishops were deposed for nonconformity, and at another the orthodox

[h] *Cent. Magdeb.* cent. iv. c. ix. pp. 617-707.

[i] See *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. v. ll. 1 and 2. *Gothof.* tom. vi. pp. 122, 124.

[j] *Socrat.* H E. lib. i. cc. 33, 34.

prelates incurred his displeasure. Athanasius himself was removed to Treves in Germany in a kind of honourable exile. Yet not a murmur was breathed that in these severe measures the emperor was invading any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or unduly interfering in spiritual matters; much less do we meet with any claim on the part of the bishop of Rome to be the channel of communication between the Church and the state, or of his right to preside over the councils of the Church. If, therefore, it be conceded that the primacy of the metropolitan prelate was in some sense admitted, we have still to inquire what that sense was, and by what sections of the Church it was acknowledged? The Eastern churches, as far as we are informed, had hitherto taken no notice whatever of the chair of Peter; and the practice of the age shows definitively that no temporal prerogatives, as against the state, were as yet thought of either by Rome or any other Christian body.

Position of the Church under Constantine.

Though, at the accession of Constantine the Great, that body was possessed of no civil rights, yet at the very moment when Christianity became the religion of the state the churches stood forth at once as organised associations, wanting nothing but the sanction of the state to invest them with a legally defined corporate character. Each church, with its bishop at its head, and its well-disciplined establishment of presbyters, deacons, and inferior clergy, formed a kind of spiritual *municipium*, closely corresponding with the Roman idea of civic government. And when to this external strength and respectability of appearance was added the real influence which the churches thus constituted possessed over the opinions and conduct of the lay subjects of the state, the existence of a positive element of substantial power in them could no longer be dissembled.

Position and pretensions of the church of Rome at this epoch.

The advantages accruing to the see of Rome from this state of things must obviously have been more abundant than any that could have fallen to the lot of any other spiritual body-corporate of the Christian world. But that church had

not awaited this juncture to avail herself of the eminence of her political station. More than a century before this she had assumed titles of preeminence; she had declared her apostolical descent, and had appropriated the remarkable words of Christ to Peter, together with all the powers and privileges supposed to be thereby conveyed, as her charter of incorporation; she had presented herself to the world as the representative of that sacramental unity implied in the hierarchical constitution, and centralised in the person and the office of the bishop.[k] Hence the offensive character of the titles animadverted upon by Tertullian; hence her pretension to cast whole sections of the Church out of communion, her assumed powers to forgive sins, and to release ecclesiastical officers from their duties to their superiors.[l] These pretensions may, indeed, have encountered partial resistance; yet the claims just adverted to remained at least uncontradicted by any considerable section of the western churches, to whose knowledge they may perhaps be presumed to have been brought.[m] It may, however, be said that the primacy of St. Peter's church was set afloat in the Christian world; and that a theory of ecclesiastical government was now proposed which fell into a natural harmony with that of the temporal state, while it presented to the sovereign a readier mode of directing the movements of the great spiritual power thus called into political existence.

Elements of the pontifical power.

We therefore inquire, what was the external or political structure of that power; more particularly, what elements in its constitution might directly or incidentally afford support to that sole representative unity claimed by the bishop of Rome in right of the chair of Peter?

The first matter of fact which calls for our attention is the gradual acquisition of ecclesiastical supremacy by the bishops presiding over the greater provincial churches

[k] Conf. ch. vi. p. 156.

[l] Conf. ch. v. pp. 120 et sqq.; ch. vii. p. 165.

[m] But it is very doubtful whether they had ever been promulgated, even in the west, in such a shape as to call for direct contradiction if unpalatable. As far as the evidence leads us, I think the probability is the other way.

within their respective dioceses and provinces.[n] During the growth of that hierarchical scheme which had superseded the primitive congregational episcopacy, the minor provincial bishops had collected around and leant upon the greater metropolitan sees, until the voluntary association had by degrees grown into a customary subordination; and thus it happened, that in the age of Constantine we meet with a regular gradation of rank and jurisdiction, corresponding pretty closely with the scheme adopted by the state for the government of the provinces. The elevation of the great metropolitan bishop of Rome to the primacy over all was the single step wanting to bring the ecclesiastical into perfect harmony with the political system, and thus, by the union of the Church with the state, and, at the same time, of all the church-constituencies under one spiritual head, to realise the Utopian theory of despotism in the fusion of religious and secular opinion, thought and interest, into one, and their subjugation under a single central control.°

Distribution of ecclesiastical powers.

At the close of the reign of Constantine the Great the distribution of the ecclesiastical powers followed closely that of the civil government in the provinces.[p] That prince divided the whole empire into four *prætorian præfectures;* two in the east, and the same number in the west. The eastern præfectures comprehended the East proper (Oriens) and Illyricum; the western comprised Italy and the Gauls (France, Spain, and Britain). The subdivisions of the eastern præfectures went by the name of *dioceses;* those of the west were called *vicariates* and *proconsulates.* These subdivisions were further parcelled out into *provinces.*

The *Oriens*, or East proper, with Antioch for its capital, comprehended five dioceses: 1. Syria; 2. Egypt, comprising Libya and the Pentapolis (Cyrenaica), with Alexandria for its capital; 3. Pontus, the capital being

[n] *e. g.* Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Carthage, Milan, Lyons, Seville, &c.

° In the age under review the secular power could not be expected to anticipate the possibility of a split between the two constituent elements of the proposed unity.

[p] See *Dupin's* clear and learned analyses of these divisions, in his work "De Antiq. Eccles. Discipl." pp. 22 et sqq.

Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; 4. Asia, with Ephesus as its capital; 5. Thrace, Hæminontis, Mœsia, and Scythia, with the newly-constructed imperial metropolis of Constantinople for its chief city.

The *Illyrian* præfecture comprised the two divisions of Macedonia and Dacia. The city of Thessalonica was the capital of the first of these divisions.

The *Italian* præfecture was divided into two *vicariates:* 1. That of Rome, consisting of the southern Italy and the Mediterranean islands,—districts at this point of time known by the name of the "suburbicarian provinces;"[q] 2. The *Italian vicariate,* comprising the whole of the modern Lombardy, with the countries south of the Danube then under the Roman dominion: Milan was the capital of this vicariate. To the Italian præfecture were attached two proconsular provinces, viz. Illyricum Occidentale, with its capital, Sirmium; and Africa Occidentalis, whose chief city was Carthage: the province itself extending from the Pentapolis to the Pillars of Hercules.

The *fourth* præfecture was that of *the Gauls.* It was divided into the three vicariates of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. In the first of these, Lyons; in the second, Seville; and in the third, Eboracum, or York, were regarded as the capitals.

Metropolitan bishops.

The cities first enumerated had, for some ages past, been the residences of metropolitan bishops, to whom a certain amount of jurisdiction in matters of general government, discipline, and ritual had been habitually yielded. These powers appear to have consisted: 1. in a right to superintend and to ratify the election of provincial and rural bishops, yet still only by the advice and with the consent of a provincial synod; 2. in a power to decide controversies of all kinds between the bishops of their provinces, and to exercise a general oversight over their conduct towards the inferior clergy and laity of their churches;[r] 3. in a right to con-

[q] Viz. the modern States of the Church, Tuscany, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the minor islands of the Mediterranean.

[r] The vi[th] canon of the council of Nice indicates a certain antiquity in these customs,—τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, κ.τ.λ.

voke and preside at all provincial synods; 4. to publish all imperial laws and ecclesiastical regulations; 5. to hold visitations of their provinces, to correct abuses, to provide for the cure of subordinate sees during vacancy, and the due election of proper persons to fill them.[s]

Introduction of patriarchates, or eparchiæ.

But though the authority of the metropolitans did not extend beyond the province civilly subject to the capital city, we have abundant proof that, for some time prior to the establishment of Christianity, the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage had extended their spiritual jurisdiction over the whole præfectures of which they were the chief cities.[t] Thus also, we feel assured that the influence of Rome, in some undefined shape, extended over the whole of the two great western vicariates; we know that Alexandria held a similar authority over the great diocese of Egypt, including the Pentapolis or Cyrenaic province, while Antioch extended its spiritual supremacy over the equally extensive diocese of the east; lastly, there is every appearance that the bishop of Carthage was regarded as the primate over the whole of the African proconsulate. These jurisdictions (if they may be so called) were, it will be perceived, of a more extensive nature than the properly metropolitan powers. They stretched beyond the limits of the province legally subject to the civil capital, over other capitals and their prelates. Thus, the bishop of Rome, as metropolitan, would claim no wider limits than the suburbicarian provinces; yet his official influence (there is little doubt) spread over the two great western præfectures. The Alexandrian prelate embraced the whole diocese of Egypt. The bishop of Antioch was the superior of the ten subject provinces of the great Syrian diocese. These three churches distinguished themselves from the metropolitans, though at a somewhat later period, by the sounding title of *patriarchates*, or eparchiæ.

The occasion which for the first time brings this novel

[s] *Dupin* de Ant. Eccl. Discipl. pp. 22 et sqq.; *Bingh.* Eccl. Antiq. book i. c. xvi. pp. 207 to 219.

[t] Carthage was the capital of the *proconsular* province of Africa; but the difference is only in name.

Arian and Meletian controversies.

power under our notice arose out of those religious dissensions which so seriously disturbed the reign of the first Christian emperor. The church of Alexandria was at this period agitated by two factions, the followers of two ambitious theologians, Arius and Meletius, who, at first with different intents, but subsequently under an understanding with each other, strove for the mastery of that church against bishop Alexander and his intrepid archdeacon Athanasius. The errors of Arius respecting the inscrutable relation of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, had spread far and wide over the dioceses of the East, and given occasion to outbreaks of religious fanaticism highly dangerous to the public peace, and distressing to the mind of Constantine.[u] At the same time, the old disputes about the time for the due celebration of the Easter festival were revived with increased animosity. Meletius seceded from the communion of Alexander, and ordained bishops for his secession-church within the limits of the Alexandrian province, and elsewhere within the diocese of Egypt, in derogation of the customary jurisdiction of his metropolitan.

The *first* general council —Motive of convocation.

With a view to remedy these disorders, and to reduce all parties to a uniform profession of faith, Constantine, in the year 325, assembled a general meeting of the prelates of the empire at the city of Nicæa in Bithynia. This council or synod—described in the ecclesiastical annals as the *First General Council* of the Christian Church[v]—in its several sittings, published twenty canons or short precepts defining and enacting several articles of clerical discipline which had been hitherto imperfectly understood or altogether neglected; more particularly the practice of the Church respecting excommunicated clerks, and the illegitimate exercise of the right of nomination and ordination by strange prelates, or by others than bishops of the province with the advice and consent of the proper metropolitan. The fifth

Canons of Nicæa.

[u] See his letters of admonition to both parties, Arians as well as orthodox, ap. *Socrat.* H. E. lib. i. c. vii.

[v] Its œcumenical character is, however, by no means historically clear.

canon enacts, that for the purpose of trying the validity of excommunications, and providing for the uniform treatment of delinquents by the whole body of the Church, provincial synods should be held twice in each year. The vi[th] canon directs that "the *ancient custom* which had prevailed in Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, should be observed; namely, that the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all the bishops[w] of those provinces, since *that* was also customary in the diocese of the Roman bishop; in like manner, as it is also customary, to preserve to Antioch and the other *eparchal churches* their ancient privileges."[x]

The v[th] canon.

It was manifestly not the object of this canon to confer any new jurisdiction upon the church of Alexandria, but simply to confirm its customary prerogative. By way of illustration, it places that prerogative, whatever it was, upon the same level with that of the two other eparchal churches of Rome and Antioch.[y] Moreover, the words of the canon disclose no other ground of claim but custom; and the customs of each eparchia are restricted to the territorial limits of the diocese or eparchia itself. And though, within those limits, the several customary rights and prerogatives may have differed, yet beyond them no jurisdiction of any kind could, by virtue of this canon, have any existence at all.

The limits of the eparchiæ here mentioned seem to have corresponded very accurately with those of the

[w] Metropolitan as well as urban or rural.

[x] *Harduin.* Conc. tom. i. pp. 325, 326. Can. Nicæn. c. vi. *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνεθές ἐστιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον, ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ εὐλόγῳ οὔσῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκίαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος.* This celebrated canon must in the sequel be frequently noticed. The Latin version, as given by *Baronius* (Ann. Eccl. an. 325, § cxxiv. p. 130), does not materially differ from the version of the first clause given in the text. The cardinal, however, manages to extract from it as it stands a plenary acknowledgment of the Roman primacy. Conf. Bish. Jewel's Apol. c. ii. p. 29; *Dupin* de Ant. Eccl. Discip. dissert. i. pp. 83, 84, and dissert. iv. c. ii. p. 325.

[y] Probably because they were better defined or more uniformly observed; or because no irregularities had hitherto occurred in either of these churches, like those which had disturbed the Alexandrian church.

The *Eparchiæ* of the Nicene fathers.

civil division — (diocese, vicariate, proconsulate). In the case of the Alexandrian eparchia we find it to have extended over the entire diocese of Egypt. This region comprised six greater provinces: viz. Thebais, Arcadia, Augustamnica, Ægyptus Proper, Libya Inferior, Libya Superior or Pentapolis. The civil government of these provinces was vested in the præfectus augustalis of Egypt; and in like manner the ecclesiastical government was wielded by the great metropolitan bishop of Alexandria; the ecclesiastical thus accurately corresponding with civil divisions both in the unity of government and territorial limit.[z] The eparchiæ of the Nicene fathers were beyond question identical with the *patriarchates* recognised in the following general councils. The powers and attributes of Rome and Antioch, as eparchiæ or patriarchates, appear to have been pretty much of the same kind with those of Alexandria. But as Rome had always occupied the first place among the civil capitals of the empire, so also was she the spiritual metropolis of the most important of its provinces—the great Roman vicariate. That region comprised, as already observed, the provinces known to the civilians by the name of the "suburbicarian provinces;" and it is to be noticed, that within these districts we hear of no metropolitan sees, as we do in the cases of Alexandria and Antioch, or of any spiritual authority intercepting or sharing the patriarchal authority. The bishop or patriarch of Rome had probably for ages past ordained all the provincial bishops; and no affairs of importance or of common concernment had ever been transacted but by him, or by his procurement and consent.

Rome and the other apostolical sees.

But these powers were exercised by the bishop of Rome as of *common right* in virtue of his patriarchal character, and only within his proper eparchia—the Roman vicariate. His position in the Church-catholic stood upon another and a broader ground. It was an opinion of early date that those sees

[z] Conf. *Bingham*, Eccl. Antiq. vol. i. book ii. c. 17, § 8. *Dupin*, ubi sup. Dissert. i. § 11. See also *Barrow*, Pap. Suprem.,—Works, vol. viii. p. 356.

which were in a condition to trace their foundation to an apostle of Christ were entitled to a higher degree both of reverence and authority than the rest.[a] Right or wrong, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Jerusalem enjoyed this reputation without dispute. But the two last must very soon have fallen out of the list of eparchal churches, in consequence probably of their inferior magnitude and political importance.[b] But here Rome stood upon peculiarly advantageous ground. True it is that the reputation of spiritual descent was equally favourable to Alexandria and Antioch, more especially to the latter, —for all three sees claimed the apostle Peter for their founder; but when the political dignity of the world's metropolis was cast into the scale, the sister churches stepped back, and desisted from any attempt to contest the priority of *rank* in the hierarchy with the bishop of Rome;[c] until by the association of a second imperial capital this single political preeminence became questionable, and the solitary dignity of Old Rome was in a measure eclipsed by the more recent splendour of Constantinople.

Foundation of Constantinople.

In the year 329 Constantine the Great transferred the seat of empire from Old Rome to Byzantium, an ancient provincial city on the Thracian Bosphorus, affording a position of unequalled advantages for the government, or the subjugation, of the world. Byzantium, though a place of importance, was the spiritual subject of the metropolitan see of Heracleia in Thrace. Constantine, after rebuilding and fortifying the city, gave it his own name, with the rank of second capital of the empire, and the title of New Rome.[d] But the bishop of Constantinople could not, in the opinion of the age, lay the remotest claim to apostolicity of descent, or, in fact, to any other or higher ecclesiastical rank than that of a provincial

Infirmity of her title.

[a] Conf. sup. chap. ii. pp. 45, 46.

[b] The destruction of Jerusalem removed it from the list of churches. At its restoration by Hadrian, under the name of Ælia Capitolina, a Christian church was established there; and the bishop of Jerusalem received from the Nicene fathers (can. vii. ubi sup.) some kind of advance in rank among the episcopacy,—it is very difficult to say what. The canon adds an express reservation on behalf of the dignity (*οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα*) of the metropolis (Antioch).

[c] *Dupin*, ubi sup. *Dissert.* i. § xi. pp. 41-45, § xiii. pp. 78, 79, and § ult. pp. 87-89.

[d] *Socrat.* H. E. lib. i. c. 16.

or urban bishop. A patriarch of Constantinople was a wandering meteor in the ecclesiastical constellation. Thus from her birth her title to position and dignity in the Church-catholic came to depend solely upon her political importance. Her founder had, in fact, no idea of any other or better title. The best authorities, both of the Roman and the Reformed professions, allow that Constantine himself transferred the patriarchate of the Thracian diocese to the bishop of the new capital. The precise time when this transfer was accomplished is not known; but it is found that her bishop, at the date of the second general council, that is, within forty-eight years of the establishment of the church, was in undisputed possession of the patriarchal title and jurisdiction, and that she was, in that character, acknowledged by all succeeding councils. This point of time is, in fact, that at which such rank would have been naturally conferred—a time when the absolute chief of the empire must have been most anxious to exalt the character of the great object of his imperial solicitude; and might therefore be expected, together with the civil dignities and prerogatives of the capital of his empire, to procure for, or confer upon her those ecclesiastical powers and authorities enjoyed by the more ancient metropolis, and, in their degree, by the other diocesan capitals of the empire. It may, indeed, be reasonably believed that, in the age of Constantine, political and spiritual power went together; and that where, by the will of the sovereign, the former existed, the latter followed of course. And the avidity with which, at this precise period, the dignity of patriarch of Constantinople was sought by prelates of acknowledged metropolitan and even of patriarchal rank, the eagerness with which contending factions in the Church solicited his support, leave little doubt that Constantinople, raised as she was to the station of civil capital of the Thracian diocese, became at once also the ecclesiastical metropolis of that division of the empire at the least.[e]

Her elevation and powers.

[e] *Dupin*, ubi sup. p. 49. *Bingham*, vol. i. p. 225. *Barrow*, Works, vol. vii. p. 356. *Tillemont*, Num. Eccl. &c. tom. xv. p. 706.

Notwithstanding, however, these political privileges, Constantinople had from the beginning to contend against a strong undercurrent of ecclesiastical opinion. She could allege neither apostolicity nor antiquity in support of her title. It is probable that from the earlier years of her patriarchal existence her pretensions stretched beyond the limits in the first instance assigned to her, and that her spiritual administration was for that very reason liable to more frequent contradiction and fluctuation, consequently less vigorous and effective, than that of the older establishments. Not only Rome, but Antioch and Alexandria, had the start of her in spiritual eminence; and thus it happened that, when her claims came to be examined with her pedigree, the political element in her title was found to be no sufficient set-off against the spiritual infirmity under which it laboured.

CHAPTER IX.

SARDICAN PERIOD.

Imperial succession—Pontifical succession—The Arian heresy—The Meletian schism—The Athanasian documents—The council of Sardica—Bishop Julius of Rome against the Eusebians—The initiative in conciliar proceedings claimed by Rome—Convocation and composition of the council of Sardica—Sardican schism—Bishop Hosius and the canons of Sardica—Character and scope of the canons of Sardica—They fall into oblivion—Political and religious state of the empire—Liberius and the western churches—Election of Felix—Defection of the Latin prelates—Constantius and Athanasius—Council of Ariminum—Julian emperor.

Imperial succession.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT died in the month of May of the year 337. The empire was divided between his three sons: the eldest, Constantine II., succeeded to the dominion of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; the second, Constantius, to the great dioceses of Thrace, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; the youngest, Constans, to the Italian vicariates, Illyricum, and Africa. In the year 340 Constantine II. was killed in an unsuccessful attempt to dethrone his younger brother Constans; and for a term of ten years following, the empire remained under the undisturbed government of Constantius in the East, and Constans in the West.

Succession of bishops of Rome.

Reckoning from the date of the victory of Constantine the Great over Maxentius, at the Milvian bridge (A.D. 312), to his death, three bishops had occupied the episcopal throne of Rome. The first of these, Miltiades, or, as he is sometimes called, Melchiades,[a] sat for rather more than two years. His successor, Sylvester I., died a little more than a twelvemonth before the emperor, after a reign of some-

[a] By Augustine, Optatus, and the Africans generally. *Ciacone* in vit. Miltiad.

thing less than twenty-two years.[b] His successor, Mark, is believed to have sat only eight months and twenty days; and in the month of February 337, Julius I. was elected to fill the metropolitan chair.

The Arian heresy.

Almost the whole of this period was distinguished by sectarian disturbances of a nature to introduce uneasiness into all the relations of society, domestic and political. Our task, however, is to consider them under one aspect only—that, namely, which connects them with the advances of the see of Rome. For this purpose we must bestow a short retrospective glance at the state of religious parties from the commencement of the fourth century. Within the first twenty years of that century, Arius, or (as he is sometimes called) Areius, a public catechist and professor of theology in the church of Alexandria, indulged in certain rash speculations upon the mysterious nature and relation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Christian Trinity.[c] The Son of God, he said, was created by the Father out of nothing, before all worlds, and before all time, by an act of His own supreme will; that therefore the Son had not existed from eternity; and though very God, yet in respect of his being created, must be inferior to the Father. This opinion spread rapidly throughout the dioceses of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor; and so greatly shocked and alarmed a numerous party in the eastern churches, that, in the year 321, Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria, assembled a general synod of the Egyptian and Libyan episcopacy, by whom Arius and his followers were condemned as heretics, and consequently degraded and excommunicated.

Meletian schism.

Within the same period of time Meletius, an Egyptian bishop, was accused of entertaining opinions respecting the "lapsed" akin to those of the Novatian schismatics. He renounced the jurisdiction of the patriarch and synod of the Egyptian diocese, and collected about him a numerous body of followers, with whom he seceded from the communion of the metropo-

[b] *Baron.* Ann. 337, with *Pagi's* note.

[c] The term "Trinitas" or "Triunitas" was, however, not used to describe that relation till a later period of the controversy.

litan church, and ordained bishops of his own persuasion to many sees within that diocese, as well as within those of Palestine and Syria. The Meletian disorders were brought under the notice of the council of Nicæa at the same time with those arising out of the Arian controversy. A decree was passed condemning the petulant and contumacious conduct of Meletius, and depriving him of his episcopal functions; but still permitting him to retain the rank of a bishop, and holding open a door to reconciliation, with confirmation of rank and privilege to the clergy ordained by him, upon confession and retractation.[d] But to provide against a recurrence of such irregularities, the iv^th^ and v^th^ canons of the council directed that, as a rule, all bishops should, if possible, be ordained by all within the province; if, however, that were impracticable, or very inconvenient, then by three at least belonging to the province; reserving always a veto upon every such nomination to the metropolitan prelate.[e] Then, to sustain the jurisdiction of the bishop, and give general effect to his censures, it was ordered that for the future no person excommunicated by his bishop should be received into communion by any other; and that, with a view of providing for the publicity of such censures, as well as to supply a remedy against vindictive or hasty excommunications, the metropolitans should hold provincial synods twice—viz. in the early spring and the later autumn—in each year.[f]

The Athanasian writings.

But the Meletian schism, though not unconnected with our subject, sinks into insignificance when compared with the results arising out of the great Arian controversy. Not long after the dissolution of the council of Nicæa, the active and zealous archdeacon Athanasius was called to the chair of Alexandria.[g] The biography of this extraordinary man is involved in some degree of confusion and uncertainty,

[d] Conf. synodal letter of the council, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. i. p. 439, and *Socrat.* II. E. lib. i. c. ix.

[e] Not necessarily the patriarch of the diocese, but the archbishop of the province simply.

[f] *Hard.* Conc. tom. i. pp. 324, 325.

[g] According to the ordinary chronology Athanasius succeeded bishop Alexander towards the close of the year 325. *Vales.* ad *Socrat.* II. E. lib. i. c. xv. But conf. *Shepherd*, Hist. of the Rom. Ch. vol. i. pp. 79 and 276.

owing to the doubtful character of the writings ascribed to him, and from which our information is derived.[h] The ecclesiastical historian Socrates, however, appears to have given them his entire confidence. And in fact, whether we adopt or reject those documents as sources of genuine history makes no great difference to our narrative; because, on either supposition, the credit which they enjoyed in the Christian world, and the faith reposed in the events they disclose, are the facts of real importance in an inquiry into the basis upon which the papal power reposed. To us, therefore, it is of no serious moment whether the great council there said to have been held at Sardica in Illyricum be, or be not, classed among the pious fictions which abounded in that and the following ages, if—whether true or false—that transaction be registered among the title-deeds of the see of Rome. In truth, however, the Athanasian writings in question can upon no supposition bear a later date than the middle of the fifth century; the transactions they record were at that period received among other documents, genuine or spurious, as evidence to a certain extent of the spiritual authority then claimed or enjoyed by the Roman pontiff. In this view, therefore, we may properly treat them as materials for the history of that progressive state of opinion as to the hierarchical relation of the church of Rome to the other sees of Christendom, upon which some at least among the more important pontifical pretensions were founded.[i]

The assembly of Christian bishops known in history

[h] These works are chiefly his "Apologia cont. Arianos," the "Apologia ad Constantinum," and his "Historia Arianorum;" all published in the Benedictine editions of his works, Paris, 1698, and Padua, 1777. It is alleged, that these tracts are so replete with anachronisms, inconsistencies, and historical improbabilities, and in point of style and manner so irreconcilable with the character of Athanasius, as to be unworthy of credit. It appears, however, that Socrates, the continuator of Eusebius, wrote from them. He even professes to have rewritten the first and second books of his history in consequence of these works having been brought under his notice after the first publication of his book. *Socrat.* H. E. lib. ii. c. i. If this be true, the writings in question were certainly extant within the first fifty years of the fifth century, inasmuch as the work of Socrates ends with the year 439. If otherwise, then we must suppose the two first books of Socrates' history to have been rewritten by some other hand under his name. I do not undertake to pronounce upon the question. Conf. *Shepherd*, ubi sup., —Proofs and Illustrations, No. iv. pp. 226 et sqq.

[i] It should be remembered that we are not discussing the abstract historical truth of the papal pretensions,

The council of Sardica.

by the title of the "Council of Sardica" is thus presented to us by the historian Socrates. After the first escape of Athanasius from Egypt, and his retirement to Treves in Germany, under the protection of the emperor Constans, the western prelates appear to have embraced his cause with great zeal. The young emperor was induced to take a lively interest in his success against his Arian persecutors; and at the instance of his brother the eastern emperor Constantius, though himself attached to the opposite party, summoned a general meeting of the eastern and western churches to decide between Athanasius and his adversaries. The controversy meanwhile had degenerated into a war of words and pamphlets, in which it is tolerably clear that neither party had a glimpse of each other's meaning. The opponents—on one side at least—had split into three or four different factions; and the terms used were received in as many different senses by the combatants, so as to leave us destitute of the means of determining with any degree of precision the real points in dispute between them. The absence of logic was supplied by invective and slander; each party accusing the other of every kind and shade of heresy, and not unfrequently clenching the matter by the foulest charges of personal profligacy, sacrilege, and even of homicide.[j] After the expulsion of Athanasius from his see, the Arian party assembled at Antioch had placed one Gregory upon the throne of Alexandria; and Athanasius had taken up his residence at Rome (A.D. 340). Upon the documents before us it appears that both parties endeavoured to preoccupy the ear of bishop Julius. But Athanasius was already in possession of that important post; and when the delegates of the oriental bishops arrived, Julius proposed that

but simply tracing their progress from feeble beginnings to ultimate success. Mr. Newman himself cannot complain of this process, however little he may relish the results. We do in nowise interfere with, but, in one sense, rather lend a helping hand to his theory of development; a theory which cannot be affected by the vices, the fictions, or the frauds of the human agents employed in the process.

[j] Witness the senseless accusation brought against Athanasius of the murder of Arsenius, for which he was tried at the council of Tyre; and which he refuted by the production of the supposed victim, alive and in good health, before the eyes of the meeting.

both parties should plead their cause before a council to be held at Rome under his own presidency; and messengers were sent to the oriental churches to summon them to attend the synod upon pain of being adjudged incapable of vindicating their proceedings against Athanasius. The delegates of the eastern churches then at Rome gave no hopes that their brethren would adopt the proposed tribunal. The council, however, assembled; and a body of fifty bishops unanimously acquitted Athanasius of all the errors and crimes laid to his charge.[k]

Bp. Julius of Rome against the Eusebians.

In the course of these disputes the bishop of Rome appears to have had some correspondence with the so-called Eusebian or semi-Arian bishops of the East, who had declined the interference of the Roman council. This letter—for what reason does not appear—Julius had kept by him for a whole twelvemonth, without disclosing it either to Athanasius or to his own clergy. But after the council had acquitted the latter, he wrote a sharp letter of reproof to the Eusebians for the alleged intemperance of their language: he accused them of an attempt to delude him into communion with heretics; of declining the council at Rome under false pretences; more especially, of pleading their heretical synods of Tyre and Antioch in bar of the tribunal of revision proposed by himself, in conformity, he said, with ancient custom, which always reserved to future synods the right of revising and correcting the decisions of preceding assemblies of the Church:[l] they had, in fact, withdrawn from the council from a consciousness of the injustice they had committed:

[k] *Baron.* Ann. 340, 341, 342, with *Pagi's* candid annotations. The narrative of the Athanasian transactions in Socrates (lib. ii. cc. xv. et sqq.) brings persons and things together out of all historical and chronological connection. It cannot be true (as he states) that bishop Julius restored Athanasius or the other deposed prelates of his party to their sees, or that any such thing was decreed at the council held at Rome. They certainly never went beyond a complete acquittal. Paul, bishop of Constantinople, whom Socrates describes as present in Rome, was at that moment languishing in chains at Emesa, in Syria; and it is very doubtful whether any of the other bishops named by Socrates were at Rome at that time. Conf. *Vales.* ad Socrat. loc. cit. This circumstance tends to confirm the suspicion of spuriousness sometimes cast upon this portion of the history of Socrates.

[l] But it is difficult to say where bishop Julius got his law, unless it be from an unaccountable misconstruction of the v^th^ canon of the Nicene council.

all that they had said and done bore the impress of insincerity, if not of heresy: the stories they had told against Athanasius were manifest calumnies: Arsenius, whom he was accused of having murdered, was alive: the alleged sacrilegious outrage against the Meletians[m] had turned out to be a mere fiction;—yet upon such testimony they had condemned and deposed the archbishop; and all this they had done pending the convocation of a synod already announced for a fuller inquiry into the case on both sides, and in manifest contempt of ecclesiastical law. They had moreover unlawfully ordained and inducted into the see of Alexandria a stranger to that church, a person unknown to the clergy and the people; and this they had accomplished by military force and with armed hand. These were the acts they were called upon to justify; by their non-appearance they had condemned themselves, and established the innocence of the accused: they had, in short, endeavoured, by craft and violence combined, to drive Athanasius and his friends into communion with the Arian heretics, in violation of the apostolical canons, and to the serious disturbance of the peace of the Church.

But the real drift of the epistle becomes more apparent in the concluding sentences: "If (says bishop Julius), as you tell me, Athanasius and Marcellus and their companions, whom you have driven to us for refuge and for justice, were wholly in the wrong, you ought still to have proceeded *canonically* . . . . *you ought first to have written to us*, in order that, *through us*, the Church might be moved to do justice between you. . . . . *Were you indeed ignorant that ecclesiastical custom imperatively requires that we should be the first written to, in order that from this see what is just and right might go forth?* Yet you, *whose duty it was before all to have consulted us* . . . . now endeavour to drag us in as accomplices in proceedings to which we were no parties."[n]

[m] The pretended robbery and desecration of certain sacred vessels belonging to one of their churches by a mob said to have been hounded on by Athanasius.

[n] *Hard.* Concil. t. i. pp. 610 et sqq.,—Ep. Jul. ad Orient.; extracted from the second apology of Athanasius against the Arians, a work of not very well-established authenticity.

Bishop Julius's demand of an absolute initiative in all proceedings against ecclesiastical offenders of the rank of the patriarch of Alexandria—for to such the claim set forth in this document seems to be restricted—is grounded upon some supposed custom or canon of the Church. It would, indeed, greatly perplex us to find any scrap of an ordinance to that effect in any known document of authority in that age, or for a long time afterwards. It may be presumed that the priority of rank generally yielded to the see of Rome was believed by that church *per se* to confer upon the bishop such an initiative;[o] and this letter will, in reality, be found to be the introduction to—perhaps the necessary preliminary of—a plan for the public judicial recognition of the privilege as claimed by the see of Rome, acting by the ostensible instrumentality of a general council of the Church.

The initiative in conciliar proceedings claimed by Rome.

At the peremptory demand of the orthodox Constans, we are told, the Arian emperor Constantius summoned such a council to assemble at Sardica, a city on the northern confines of Thrace, and probably within the eastern sovereignty. The professed objects of the meeting were—to decide in the first place between Athanasius and his accusers, and to consult upon the best means of restoring peace to the Church. At the appointed time as many as one hundred and eighty bishops, from both divisions of the empire, met together for these purposes. Though the two parties were represented by nearly equal numbers, it may be readily believed that the selection—depending wholly

Convocation and composition of the council of Sardica.

[o] Did bishop Julius find it in some older Roman recension of the Apostolic Constitutions? Conf. sup. ch. vi. pp. 139 et sqq.

The v^th canon of the Nicene council clearly applies only to a revision of the proceedings of provincial councils by the subsequent semestral synods. Can it be that, by a sort of parity of reasoning, the bishop of Rome claimed a general right to convoke councils of revision whenever any wrong or injustice had been committed by the provincial bishops? But the councils of Tyre and Antioch were not provincial synods; they were composed of prelates from all quarters of the East, especially from the two great dioceses of Syria and Egypt. Probably, however, the claim was intended to rest upon the assertion of the bishop himself, and was grounded upon some exclusive pretension of the like kind acted upon in the exercise of his domestic government. We shall find hereafter that this was in harmony with the general pretension of the papacy to be the interpreter of its own privileges.

upon the views of the convoking powers—could hardly have been impartially exercised. Among the orthodox prelates Athanasius and the expatriated bishops of his party sat as constituent members of the tribunal that was to decide upon the merits of their cause; while, on the other hand, the loudest of their accusers confronted them on the opposite benches. But what constituted the real unfitness of the tribunal for the task assigned them was, the circumstance that both parties came to the meeting with their hands tied: the Eusebians and Arians, by the prior decisions of their councils of Tyre and Antioch; the orthodox, by the definitive adjudication of the Roman council, from which their acknowledged chief and protector could by no means be expected to sanction any departure. Accordingly the oriental bishops ushered in the proceedings by a demand that the Athanasian culprits should be excluded from the tribunal that was to try and to pass judgment upon them. The demand was, of course, rejected with indignation on the other side, and the schism was complete: the Eusebian prelates (as they are called in the documents before us) formed nearly an equal moiety of the assembly; and these, together with the Arian clergy in a mass, seceded from Sardica, and reconstituted themselves at Philippopolis, a city about one hundred miles away, where they shortly ratified and republished all their prior proceedings against Athanasius and his adherents.

Sardican schism.

When the fathers who remained behind at Sardica, we are further told, found themselves released from the opposition of the orientals, they, on their part, immediately confirmed and promulgated afresh the resolutions of the Roman synod; and, to complete the act of justice, solemnly decreed the restitution of the expatriated prelates and clergy to their respective sees and offices; at the same time passing sentence of deposition and excommunication against the intruders appointed by their opponents. But justice to the injured was the ostensible rather than the principal object proposed by the section of the council

Bishop Hosius and the canons of Sardica.

which remained at Sardica. The Athanasians were, it is true, to be righted; but Rome was to be magnified. According to the authorities before us, that church claims to have been represented at Sardica by the same two prelates, Osius or Hosius of Corduba in Spain, and Vincentius of Capua in Campania, whom she sets down as her legates at the council of Nicæa held twenty-two years before.[p] This bishop Hosius stands forth as the spokesman of the meeting; and after adverting to the disorders in the eastern churches, he proposes the following regulation as the best remedy:

"If a bishop shall in any matter be condemned, and shall think he hath had wrong done him, and that he hath good cause to have a renewal of the inquiry, then let us *do this honour to the memory of the apostle Peter*, that they who passed the sentence be required to write, upon such demand, to Julius bishop of Rome, so that, if necessary, the tribunal may be reconstituted by the neighbouring bishops of the eparchia, he (Julius) appointing the triers; but if the appellant shall not prove his cause to be such as to require reversal, the prior adjudication be not disturbed."

[p] See *Baron.* Ann. 347; and *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont. vol. i. p. 239. These names appear as the first subscribers to both councils. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 312 and 651. At the council of Nicæa the name of Victor is added to that of Vincentius, and both describe themselves as "presbyteri Romani, pro venerabili viro papa et episcopo nostro sancto Sylvestro." In the subscriptions to the canons of Sardica, the names of Osius and Vincentius appear certainly at the head of the subscriptions, but without any other descriptions than the names of their respective sees. The editors of the Concilia—upon what authority I know not—describe them as legates of Pope Julius I., and add to the number the two names of Calipodius of Naples and Januarius bishop of Beneventum, though both these latter names come *after* that of Athanasius of Alexandria. It is very doubtful whether the bishop of Rome was represented at all at the Nicene council; and the recurrence of the name of Osius or Hosius upon occasion of that of Sardica adds to the obscurity which hangs over this latter council and its proceedings. This Hosius, as his history runs upon the Athanasian documents and the later authorities, was bishop of the far-distant Corduba in Spain. He is said to have been a confessor under the persecution of Maximian—not later than the year 306; then to have been the chosen friend of Constantine the Great; afterwards, the spiritual president of the council of Nicæa, and author of the celebrated creed there published; then, under Constantius, to have presided at Sardica in the year 347 as a zealous Homoousian; after that, at the age of nearly a century, to have subscribed the Arian creed of Sirmium, and to have become a persecutor of his former persuasion; and lastly, to have died repenting of and recanting his apostasy. See *Shepherd*, ubi sup. pp. 341 et sqq., principally from *Athan.* cont. Arian. § 74; Hist. Arian, § 42; Apologia ad Constantium, § 3, and *Hilary* de Synodis, § 63.

This resolution having been adopted, bishop Gaudentius of Dacia Ripensis proposes that, "if any bishop, having been deposed by the judgment of the neighbouring bishops, shall give them public notice that he is about to enter upon his (further) defence, no other person be put into his see until the Roman bishop, after cognisance of the cause, shall determine the same."

Again, bishop Hosius proposes, and it is agreed to, that "if any bishop be denounced, and shall be by the assembled bishops of the district (province) removed from his see, and he shall have recourse, by way of appeal,[q] to the most blessed the bishop of the church of Rome, and he shall desire to hear him, and shall thereupon think it just that his cause be reexamined, let him (the bishop of Rome) be at the pains to write to his brother bishops who dwell nearest to the province, that they inquire diligently and with accuracy into all the particulars, and according to the best of their belief as to the truth render their judgment upon the matter: but if any one shall call for a new inquiry into his case, and the Roman bishop shall, at his request, think fit *to send presbyters à latere*, let him have the power so to do if it pleaseth him; and if he shall see fit, to send such presbyters to sit in judgment *with* the bishops, they being furnished with full authority from himself; or if he shall think the bishops competent by themselves to take cognisance of the cause—in either of these cases, let him do as to him may appear best under the circumstances."[r]

Character and scope of the canons of Sardica.

Whatever the powers contended for in more recent ages on behalf of the see of Rome, no rational expositor could, we think, contend that these resolutions contain a simple confirmation of a previously existing power. On the contrary, every word conveys the idea of a grant of something

[q] ὥσπερ ἐκκαλησάμενος.

[r] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 639, 640. Conf. *Dupin*, de Ant. Discip. Eccles. pp. 106-8; *Baron.* Ann. 347, § 53, 54, cum not. *Pagi*; *Centur. Magdeb.* cent. iv. c. ix. pp. 763, 764; *Ciaconi*, Vit. Pont., in Jul. I.; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. iii. p. 372. The Greek recension of these canons and the version of Dionysius Exiguus (end of the vth cent.) vary in some particulars.

that did not exist before. The motive of the grant, it is true, is the reverential regard due to St. Peter as the spiritual progenitor of the church of Rome; but since, for the preservation of the peace of the Church, it was expedient that an appellate jurisdiction in the cases specified should be lodged somewhere, that consideration was allowed to turn the scale in favour of the see of Rome.[s] And, in fact, neither the council of Nicæa nor that of Antioch[t] had provided a court of error from which a wrongfully condemned bishop could obtain redress against the judgment of his metropolitan and the comprovincial prelates. The council of Sardica professes to provide a remedy against this inconvenience; and, in point of fact, a qualified appeal is given to the accused,—such appeal to move from himself through the instrumentality of the bishop of Rome; so that not only the original jurisdiction is reserved to the comprovincials, but also the hearing of the appeal itself, with such changes only in the constitution of the court as might, in the opinion of the Roman pontiff, qualify it to render impartial justice. For that purpose, the latter is empowered to call in the bishops of the nearest province, with the right of sending his own delegates to superintend the proceedings. The opinion therefore which has gone abroad, that these canons gave an appeal to the church of Rome in all episcopal causes, is unfounded; nothing more being really meant than the grant of a discretionary right to direct a revision of the sentence by a tribunal differing as little as was consistent with the objects in view from that established by the then existing statutes of the Church.[u]

[s] *Greek text:* Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου μνήμην τιμησῶμεν, κ.τ.λ. Version of *Dionys. Exig.*: "Petri apostoli memoriam honoremus," &c.

[t] Held in the year 341, according to some authorities, and not to be confounded with the Eusebian council, held (it is believed) in the same year in which Athanasius and his friends were denounced and deposed. This council, by its xiv^th^ canon, provided for the case of a difference of opinion among the bishops of the province—the natural judges—as to the guilt of a brother bishop under accusation, but only for the assistance of the judges themselves, who were in that case authorised to call in the neighbouring bishops; but in case of unanimity or a preponderant majority against him, the accused had no remedy (can. xv.). *Concil.* tom. i. p. 590 (preface) and pp. 599, 600.

[u] Conf. *Dupin*, ubi sup. p. 109. The arguments of the Roman divines, to draw from the words, Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου μνήμην τιμησῶμεν, a duty to sub-

Oblivion of the canons of Sardica.

Frequently as the canons of Sardica have, in subsequent ages, been vouched on behalf of the jurisdiction of Rome as a court of general revision and appeal in the greater ecclesiastical causes, it is very remarkable that, for the space of one entire century from the date of their presumed enactment, the Christian world knew nothing about them; or, to say the least, took no notice of them.[v] In the western churches we meet with no allusion to such a council in any public transaction; the Africans had not even heard of it or its enactments; and in the eastern world these ordinances were never admitted at all as ecclesiastical law. It is not unimportant to observe, that at the period of time fixed upon for the date of this council such provisions would not be very palatable to the hierarchy. We observe, moreover, that the comprovincial judicatures were—in the East at least—universally established, and that the general councils of Constantinople in the year 381, of Chalcedon in 451, and of Constantinople in 681,[w] unanimously decree that all ecclesiastical causes, without exception, should in the first instance be heard by the provincial synods, with an appeal to the patriarch of the diocese;[x] thus establishing or recognising a court of revision different in its character from that grounded upon the alleged canons of Sardica.

Notwithstanding the shade of suspicion which these considerations cannot fail to cast upon the genuineness of the Sardican canons, we see no reason to doubt that a synod was in fact convoked at the time and place assigned to it by subsequent ecclesiastical writers for the

mit all such disputes, or *causæ majores* as they call them, to the arbitrament of Rome, baffle common sense. An obligation of reverential courtesy or respect cannot be construed into an official duty. The Greek verb τιμάω does not convey any such meaning, except when, as applied to the Deity, the honour, respect, or reverence is a matter of preestablished obligation. In logical propriety, the papal advocates are bound to prove such a primacy of jurisdiction as would justify the inference contended for. But then, what need of the council of Sardica to establish it?

[v] True it is—as in the sequel of this work will appear—that in the year 418, or thereabouts, certain canons of like import were alleged by bishop Zosimus of Rome in controversy with the African churches; but under the fictitious title of "Canons of the Council of Nicæa," among which these canons had strangely enough found a place.

[w] Generally known as the council of the Trullum, from the place of its meetings.

[x] *Dupin*, ubi sup. p. 115.

restoration of Athanasius and his exiled friends.[y] These acts of the council are mentioned with approbation by the orthodox ecclesiastical writers of this and the subsequent age; but the expressions in which that approval is conveyed betray no acquaintance with any other enactments of this council than what are disclosed in the synodal epistle by which the fathers announced their final decision in favour of the exiles.[z]

Political and religious state of the empire.

Less than three years after the date of the Sardican council the orthodox emperor Constans was slain by the usurper Magnentius. Within the three following years the latter was defeated in two pitched battles by Constantius, the last surviving son of Constantine the Great; in the latter of which the usurper was slain. The whole empire was once again united under the dominion of Constantius. In the midst of these civil broils bishop Julius died, and was succeeded by Liberius (A.D. 352). The Christian world was at this time divided between three great parties. While the West adhered almost unanimously to the confession of Nicæa, a very influential section of the oriental churches, with the indomitable Athanasius at their head, rigidly adhered to that confession; stoutly repelling the most trivial departure from the Nicene formulæ, and maintaining to the death the dogma of the consubstantiality of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in that association which they designated by the term "Trinitas" or "Triunitas." The second, or high-Arian party, absolutely denied the consubstantiality, and insisted upon the inferiority or subordination of the Son as a creature. But a third and more numerous faction,

[y] To this extent the notices of this synod by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Epiphanius, and Basil—none of whom, however, mention any canons—cannot well be discredited. Yet it is painful to witness the struggles of the Roman advocates to elevate this rump of a council into an œcumenical synod, and to expand the three equivocal canons into a plenary recognition of an ultimate judicature as inherent in the see of Rome. Conf. inter alios *Baron.* Ann. 347, §§ 53 and 54, cum not. Pagi; *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont. in vit. Jul. I.; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. iii. p. 372; and *Dupin*, ubi sup. pp. 115, 117.

[z] See the epistle at length, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 361. The document contains a simple vindication of Athanasius, the decree of restoration, and an anathema against their opponents.

while they denied the identity, strictly affirmed the *similarity* of essence in the two first persons of the Athanasian Trinity. The two latter parties together constituted the majority of the oriental churches, and they persecuted each other with scarcely less inveteracy than that which animated them against their common opponents the Athanasians. Either from habits of early association with the oriental hierarchy, or from motives of policy, Constantius had attached himself to the second—the semi-Arian, or Eusebian—confession; and with the usual instinct of despotic government, in which uniformity of religious profession is a political necessity, he was prepared to reduce the hierarchy of both divisions of the empire to the standard of religious opinion he had himself adopted.

Liberius and the western churches.

But the invincible Athanasius stood directly in his path; his conversion to the court religion was hopeless; Constantius, therefore, set him down as a personal enemy, and devoted him to ruin. But at this moment the state of the western churches was his great difficulty; the prospect in that quarter was dark, but not hopeless. Bishop Liberius, it is true, had fully adopted the theological views of Athanasius; but he possessed none of that self-sacrificing resolution and strength of will which distinguished the Egyptian champion. He was therefore ill prepared to encounter the tempest of guile and cruelty with which the despot now assailed the churches of the West. The history of this persecution is, however, involved in great obscurity. Liberius, we are told, under pressure of the imperial displeasure, and overcome by the solicitations of the court prelates, consented at length to the excommunication of Athanasius, and himself communicated with his adversaries. But these compliances did not satisfy the policy or the passions of the emperor; and Liberius was importuned to sign an Arian or semi-Arian confession of faith, drawn up at Sirmium, in Pannonia, by a synod of that confession, a few years before. But this urgency appears to have awakened the convictions of the bishop, and he is said to have recalled his censures against Athanasius. Late in the year 353 Constantius assembled a council at Arles, in Provence,

in order to extort from the reluctant prelates of Gaul a more specific condemnation of the tenets of Athanasius. A craftily worded confession of faith, of a semi-Arian character, was here presented for the signatures of the assembly. Paulinus, bishop of Treves, and a few others, declined to subscribe, and were sent into exile. The rest of the meeting, and among them the legates of Liberius,[a] did not venture to encounter the imperial displeasure, and swam with the stream. In Italy the spirit of opposition to the imperial scheme was more lively: but Constantius, to whom passive resistance was as offensive as active opposition, convoked in the year 355 a general synod at Milan, to which Liberius and his recusant friends were specially summoned, and a short alternative of exile or conformity proposed to them. In reply, the distressed prelates protested their earnest desire to concur with the rest for the peace of the Church, and promised that if, upon a fair inquiry, their opinions should prove unsound, they would cheerfully comply with the imperial mandate; but that otherwise it would be out of their power to abandon their actual convictions. The court majority, however, rudely repelled all conditions; and in the end Liberius of Rome, and his fellow confessors, Eusebius of Vercelli, Dionysius of Milan, Lucifer of Cagliari, and a few others, were deposed and sent into distant exile.[b] At Rome an Arian minority elected one Felix, a deacon of that church, to the vacancy thus created, and their choice was confirmed by the court.[c]

Election of Felix.

But though these oppressive proceedings did not in the end produce any serious impression upon the faith of the western churches, they seem, for the present at least, to have worn out the patience of the sufferers. The people of Rome indeed still clung with affectionate regret to their exiled bishop, and the Arian faction found themselves without influence

Defection of the Latin prelates.

[a] Liberius was not present.

[b] Liberius was banished to Berœa, in Thrace.

[c] It should be noted, that the whole of this story rests almost solely upon the credit due to certain rather equivocal documents found among the works of Hilary, bishop of Poictiers. They are entitled "Fragmenta," and are to be found in the Benedictine edition of Hilary's works of the year 1693. See also *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 677 to 700.

in the capital. But Liberius was, we are told, weary of banishment; the Romans clamoured for the restoration of their bishop, and the government thought it expedient to yield to their demands. But before his restoration Liberius was prevailed upon to sign the Arian confession of Sirmium, and to consent to share his authority with the intruder Felix; and thus the first example of a see with two reigning bishops was exhibited in the see of Peter itself. With Liberius, the patriarchal Hosius of Corduba,[d] the zealous Phebadius of Agen, and other pillars of orthodoxy in the West, had affixed their signatures to the creed of Sirmium; while the more steadfast confessors of the Nicene faith, Hilarius of Poictiers, Paulinus of Treves, Eusebius of Vercelli, Dionysius of Milan, and Lucifer of Cagliari, had either died in exile, or still languished in distant and rigorous banishment. But it was soon found that these severities tended rather to exasperate than to assuage the fury of the religious tempest which threatened to sweep away the last remnant of Christian sympathy from the world. The menacing importunity of the Roman populace, and the loud murmurs of the orthodox cities of Italy and the West, who had been deprived of their pastors, warned the imperial tyrant against pushing oppression to extremities. He consented to the removal of the intrusive bishop Felix, and restored Liberius to the undivided government of his church; he appears even to have connived at, or at least to have refrained from punishing, the sanguinary seditions by which the Romans celebrated their religious victory.

Constantius and Athanasius.

The emperor Constantius had conceived the most invincible dislike for the dogma of the Homoousion; yet it is difficult to say to which of the several modifications of the Arian doctrine he

[d] The name of Hosius of Corduba cannot be mentioned without misgiving. He must by this time have attained the age of 100 years. There is, besides, a very suspicious ubiquity about him. His name appears prominently in almost all important transactions from the council of Nicæa to those of Sirmium and Ariminum; and he is described in the Hilarian "Fragments" as having, at the patriarchal age of 100, apostatised to opinions he had spent a long life in combating, yet, according to the Athanasian documents, recanting his new creed with his latest breath.

was most inclined.[e] But it may be said that, amid all their mutual animosities, the different Arian professions buried all their disputes in the one intense desire to witness the erasure of the Homoousion from the creeds of Christendom. They who maintained the inferiority of the Son to the Father as a creature, no less than they who described him as of *like substance*, or than they who asserted his *similarity* to the Father, waged implacable war with the Homoousion of Nicæa. Constantius appears at different junctures to have favoured all these shades of Arianism, yet never to have declared for any one in particular.[f] But unity of religious persuasion was to him unity of allegiance; and he hated the doctrine of Athanasius because he feared the man. The power of that extraordinary person, whether seated on his throne at Alexandria, or flitting from place to place as if gifted with the privilege of ubiquity, irritated and alarmed him. His impalpable presence encountered and thwarted him at every step, in the East and in the West. In some incomprehensible manner he managed to escape all the snares laid for him; and now that the vulgar expedients of persecution and bribery had failed to bend the stubborn will of his disciples to the imperial creed, no course remained open to Constantius but to try the efficacy of persuasion and craft upon the simpler faith and loyalty of his western subjects.

With this view, a council was summoned to meet at Ariminum in Umbria, a city situate at a safe distance from the disaffected capital. More than four hundred prelates from both divisions of the empire obeyed the imperial citation. Two Illyrian bishops, Ursacius and Valens, appeared on this, as on almost all prior occasions upon which the Arian interests were involved, as the managers for the court. The objects of Constantius were, if possible, to procure unanimity of decision in favour of some formula which should

Council of Ariminum.

[e] Gibbon has very accurately distinguished these modifications in his "Decline and Fall," &c. c. xxi. p. 59, Smith and Milman's edition.

[f] In all his letters, as preserved by Socrates, or set out in the Athanasian documents or the Hilarian "Fragments," he carefully abstains from any intimation of his own doctrinal predilections.

give the go-by to the Homoousion,—at all events, to effect the overthrow of his enemy Athanasius. But it soon appeared that, in the present temper of the western churches, emboldened as they were by their late partial success against the tyrannical measures of the court, any direct attack on the Nicene symbol could hardly succeed, and might be attended with fatal effects to the imperial scheme. The court prelates therefore not only abstained from any such step, but professed the most profound abhorrence for the person and the doctrines of Arius; they even went the length of condemning point by point all the most prominent features of his system. These proofs of sincerity, enforced by the ability and eloquence of Ursacius and Valens, carried the assembly along with them, and they assented by acclamation to a creed in every respect corresponding with that of Nicæa, except that the Homoousion was suffered quietly to drop out, and the whole question of the divine nature of the Son of God thrown back into that state of obscurity from which the Arian parties hoped to derive each its particular advantage.[g] But before the dissolution of the council, serious misgivings suggested themselves to the deluded Homoousians. In a pathetic letter to the emperor, they retracted the assent drawn from them by the impulses of peace and goodwill; they declared that they could by no

[g] I may be allowed to remark that, under the theological necessity for defining the mysterious nature of the Deity,—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—and their relation to each other, the Homoousion had an immeasurable advantage over every other mode of presenting that relation. That term has a definite and an intelligible meaning—it has a good *locus standi* in the human mind. On the other hand, the Homoiousion is a very indefinite term; it escapes our intelligence. Things of the most different nature have their points of resemblance—the shades of *likeness* up to the point of sameness are innumerable. Controversy resting upon such a basis may indeed be capable of a compromise, but is not susceptible of any rational decision; it can lead to no positive or binding terms of agreement. This was probably the true reason for the adoption of the Homoousion, and explains its ultimate triumph. The only real issue in the cause lay in the question: Was the Son of God of the same substance—*οὐσία*, *being*, or *essence*—with the Father, or not? There was no possible modification of this issue. If determined in the negative, there remained no distinction in principle between the ultra-Socinian and the Homoiousian, or semi-Arian, the confession that seems to approach the nearest to that of Nicæa. But the approach is in fact only in appearance. Any degree of *mere similitude* necessarily degrades the Son to the condition of a creature; the highest cannot raise him to the level of the Creator. A Trinity in the Athanasian, as in the scriptural sense, is impossible without the Homoousion.

means sanction any departure from the creed to which his pious father and all Christendom had so solemnly pledged themselves at Nicæa; and they implored him to dismiss them to the care of their flocks, and the duty of prayer for the length and prosperity of his reign. But Constantius was not disposed to abandon the advantage he had won. At the suggestion of his agents Ursacius and Valens, he replied that he had not at that moment the necessary leisure to examine their petition; the prelates were detained at Ariminum, and in the mean time the new creed, under the ostensible sanction of a general synod of the Church, confirmed by the imperial approval, was ostentatiously published at synods hastily convoked,[h] and in a form so closely resembling that of Nicæa (325), that the world was for a time deceived into the belief that it amounted to no more than a republication of that hallowed formula. What part Liberius took in the proceedings at Ariminum is not apparent; but it is evident that the great body of the western prelacy, whatever momentary compliances they may have been seduced into, never mentally apostatised from the Nicene faith.[i] At all events, the controversy appears to have languished in the West; while in the East it continued, under various forms, to disturb the peace of the Church for many years to come.[j]

The emperor Constantius died suddenly at Mopsucrene in Cilicia, on the 3d of December A.D. 361, and

[h] Two such synods only are named, one at Nicæa in Thrace, the other at Seleucia in Isauria; but no doubt the same process was adopted elsewhere, with the view to seduce the Christian world into the belief that the new creed involved no departure from that of the Nicene fathers.

[i] *Ammianus Marcellinus* (l. xv. c. vii.) mentions the exile of Liberius. The little he says about him leaves us under the impression that he remained firm in his opposition to the imperial creed.

[j] This council of Ariminum is among the difficult problems of ecclesiastical history. The narrative of *Socrates* (H. E. lib. ii. c. xxxvii.) is full of errors; but it contains some valuable documents, particularly the rescript of Constantius to the protest of the orthodox prelates. The summary in the text appears to me the most consistent mode of presenting the transaction. I am not fully convinced that the protesting prelates set their hands and seals to the second Sirmian creed, though it was nearly identical with that of Nicæa, omitting only the terms οὐσία and ὁμοούσιον; and I think that Gibbon has been misled into that conclusion by Jerome's tract against the Luciferians. See Decl. and Fall, &c. c. xxi. p. 62, ed. M. and S. I have followed the documents in *Hard.* Conc. tom. i. pp. 711 to 726, though without any firm faith in the Athanasian treatises and Hilarian fragments, of which the collection in Harduin mainly consists.

was, without opposition, succeeded by his cousin Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great. The new prince had at an early age conceived a strong prejudice against the religious instructors assigned to him in the various retreats, or rather imprisonments, to which the jealousy of his predecessor had consigned him. When restored to comparative liberty, by reasons of state rather than a sense of justice, he devoted himself to the literature and philosophy of the Greeks; his mind turned away with disgust from the harsh and semi-barbarous garb in which the theology of the age had enveloped itself, and took refuge in the elegant fictions and attractive superstitions of Hellenism. Without the desire to inquire into the vital truths of Scripture, he took the character of Christ's religion from the manners and practices of its professors; and he began to hate the faith he had not been at the pains to understand. Philosopher, orator, sophist, and fanatic, he formally renounced Christianity, and resolved—in conformity with the inherited character of the race from which he sprang—to compass by management, rather than by vulgar violence, the downfall of the Christian establishment, if not of the faith he detested. It is, however, most probable that the contemptuous toleration he extended with such perfect indifference to all Christian sects alike, would, if his life had been prolonged, have degenerated into active persecution. But the new emperor was mortally wounded in action with the Persians on the 26th of June A.D. 363. His successor, Jovian, relieved his Christian subjects from the partial disabilities and real vexations to which Julian had subjected them, with the tolerably obvious intention to plunge them back into that state of civil outlawry from which his uncle had so recently emancipated them. But, after its transient revival under Julian, Hellenism appears to have silently perished by gradual decay. Yet, though extinct to the outward sense, the seeds it left behind speedily began to germinate in the Christian soil; and in time brought forth a crop of a growth and a character difficult to distinguish from those of the parent plant.

Julian emperor.

CHAPTER X.

ANTE-THEODOSIAN PERIOD.

Jovian emperor; his tolerant character—Valentinian and Valens emperors—Toleration of Valentinian—Intolerant policy of Valens in the East—Character and government of Valentinian I.—State of the Roman church—Damasus and Ursinus—Double election—Installation of Damasus; his merits, &c.—Ammianus Marcellinus on the disorders in Rome—Vices of the Roman church—Edict against clerical sycophancy—Censures of the severer churchmen—Complaint—Union of the West under Rome—Discord in the East—Jerome on the chair of Peter—Contrasted opinions of Basil and Jerome on the chair of Peter—Grounds of Jerome's opinion—Decline of practical Christianity—Religious sedition in Rome—Ursinians—Luciferians—Donatists—Gratian and Valentinian II. emperors—Petition of the Roman council to Gratian—Rescript of Gratian to Aquilinus—Object and character of the petition and rescript—The decree of Gratian—Its character.

Jovian emperor; his tolerant character.

THE death of Julian in the year 363 threw the choice of an emperor upon the army he at that moment commanded. With death by drought and famine staring them in the face, soldiers and officers pronounced without delay in favour of Jovianus, the count of the imperial domestics. As a Christian, he was obnoxious to the Hellenic party supported by the late emperor; he appears, however, to have been a man of a discreet and tolerant disposition, and therefore qualified to deal with the religious dissensions which distracted the Christian world, as well as to assuage those animosities which the intolerance of Julian had revived between his heathen and Christian subjects. A timely treaty with the victorious Shahpoor, king of Persia, rescued the Roman forces from destruction. After the performance of this meritorious but mortifying task, he announced the religious policy of the future reign by declaring the Christian religion to be the religion of the emperor and the state; but at the same time

proclaiming perfect liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Nor does he appear to have manifested his zeal for his own profession by any severer measures than those of prohibiting the pernicious practice of magic rites, and the nocturnal sacrifices and orgies of the heathen priests; and restoring to the churches and the ministers of religion the liberties, franchises, and endowments of which they had been deprived by Julian.[a]

Valentinian and Valens emperors.

The sudden death of Jovian, after a reign of only seven months and twenty days, made way for the elevation of Valentinian I., a person well known to the army and the court for bravery, fortitude, and military talent. His election to fill the throne, which no descendant or relative of Constantine the Great remained to claim, was unanimous. The new emperor, though a professed Christian, began his reign without any sectarian predilections. His policy—if a man of his passionate and sanguinary character can be said to have had a policy—and his religion were directed by the interests of his government. A few weeks after his election (A.D. 364)[b] he associated his brother Valens with himself in the empire, assigning to him the Asiatic, Thracian, and Egyptian dioceses, and retaining to himself the government of Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa.[c] Valentinian adopted frankly, perhaps sincerely, the faith of the great majority of his subjects; but declined all measures tending to persecution either of Christian dissenters, or heathen recusants among them. He conscientiously maintained the honours and privileges of the clergy—those of the episcopacy in particular; and resumed all the grants made by Julian to the heathen temples out of the imperial domain.[d] He restored the right to give

Toleration of Valentinian.

[a] The contradictory statements of the heathen writers, Themistius and Libanius on the one part, and of Socrates and Sozomen on the other, as to Jovian's treatment of the heathen, may perhaps be reconciled by imputing the barbarities which, according to Libanius, were inflicted, and the intimidation practised against them, to the isolated fanaticism of Christian governors or mobs. Conf. *Tillemont*, Hist. des Emp. tom. iv. pp. 585, 586.

[b] About the 27th Feb. The act of association took place at Nicæa, and in the absence of Valens.

[c] This division was proposed at Naissus in Thrace, and afterwards completed at Sirmium in Pannonia.

[d] *Cod. Theod.* a Gothof. lib. x. tit. i. l. 8, p. 414.

private and public instruction to Christian professors and teachers in the liberal arts,[e] and revoked the immunities[f] granted to the numerous pretenders, who, by the special favour of Julian, had assumed the garb and character of philosophers. He encouraged by several ordinances the due observance of Christian rites, more especially those of the Lord's day and the Easter festival.[g] But these and other favours, bestowed upon the Church and her ministers, seem to have been granted without distinction of sect or profession; and when importuned upon matters of faith, he declined all discussion, alleging that "such subjects belonged to the prelates, and that they might meet to settle them when and wherever they pleased; he, for his part, would be no judge between bishops."[h] Even towards the heathen his severities were confined to the prohibition of nocturnal sacrifices, and those mischievous magical superstitions, equally offensive to right-minded men of all creeds. He abstained from prohibiting the practice of the aruspices, and other accustomed rites of the old religion, provided they were not abused for the pernicious purposes of magic imposture; and even conceded the usual immunities to the Hellenic priests in the provinces who should obtain their dignities in proper legal form.[i] In short, Valentinian was not inclined to throw obstacles in the way of any religious opinions or modes of worship but those he deemed injurious to society, or dangerous to the public peace.[j]

[e] *Cod. Theod.* lib. xiii. tit. 3, l. 6, pp. 37, 38. Julian had endeavoured to drive the Christians from the schools and places of public instruction for the benefit of his "philosophers," a race of teachers enjoying no enviable reputation either for learning or integrity. Conf. ll. 5 and 7, pp. 35 and 37, ubi sup.

[f] Exemption from the "munera publica."

[g] By divers remissions and amnesties to criminals under sentence. *Cod. Theod.* lib. viii. tit. 8, l. 1, p. 615; and lib. ix. tit. 38, ll. 3 and 4, pp. 295, 297.

[h] *Sozom* lib. vi. c. 21, and *Ambrose*, ep. 13, as quoted by *Tillemont*, H. des Emp. tom. v. p. 9, and Mém. &c. tom. vi. p. 532. Conf. *Socrat.* lib. iv. c. i. See also *Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 16, l. 9, p. 138.

[i] *Cod. Theod.* lib. xii. tit. l. 75, cum not. Gothof. pp. 450, 451.

[j] It was for such reasons that the Manichæan and Donatist sects were excluded from this general scheme of toleration; the former, because their rites were believed to be connected with malefic practices; and the latter, on account of their seditious and turbulent character. See *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. 5, l. 3, cum not. Gothof. p. 126; and ibid. lib. xvi. tit. 6, l. 1, p. 213. The latter of these ordinances is obviously intended to operate against the Donatists.

Intolerant policy of Valens in the East.

The diverging policy of Valens in the East resulted from differences both in the position and character of the two princes. Valentinian I., though he did not succeed in giving full satisfaction to the orthodox party in the West,[k] managed, with some tact, to keep the religious peace of his dominions, and to silence discontent. Valens, on the other hand, though equally incapable of distinguishing between the different modes adopted by Catholics and Arians of explaining the mysterious relation between the three hypostases in the Athanasian Trinity, very soon fell into the habit of entertaining himself with his bishops upon these mysterious topics, and, as a matter of course, ended with adopting their views; less, perhaps, from rational conviction, than from religious isolation, and the exigencies of his position. Yet, with all these errors committed by his colleague in the East, there is no indication of interference on the part of Valentinian, nor any symptom of his having resented the oppressive proceedings of his brother against his own ostensible communion.[l] And, indeed, the senior emperor did little more within his own dominion than give fair play to the various religious parties submitted to his management. Valens, whose religious judgment was clouded by the feebleness of his understanding, swam with the stronger current of religious opinion in his own realms; the interests of his government appeared to run with the prevailing Arianism of his churches and prelates, and in a few years after his accession he became the declared patron of the dominant heresy.[m] After Constantine the Great, Valentinian I. was the only Roman sovereign who fairly struck into the

[k] He gave offence by leaving some of the most important sees in the West, such as Milan in Italy, Singidunum and Mursa in Pannonia, and Sirmium in Illyricum Occidentale, in the hands of Arian bishops. Hilary of Arles blamed him for allowing Milan to remain in possession of the Arian Aurelius, and for suffering himself to be prevailed upon to communicate with him. *Tillem.* Mém. Eccl. &c. tom. vi. p. 531.

[l] *Amm. Marcell.* (lib. xxvi. c. v. p. 495, and lib. xxx. c. vii. p. 654) describes them as "conjunctissimi principes;" and Valens as "ut germanitate ita concordia sibi (Valentiniano) conjunctissimum."

[m] *Theodoret* (lib. iv. c. v. ap. *Tillem.* Mém. &c. tom. vi. p. 531) says that some few years after his elevation he was baptised (rebaptised?) by Eudoxius, the Arian patriarch of Constantinople. But see cont. *Socrat.* lib. iv. c. viii. ap. *Tillem.* II. des Emp. tom. v. p. 88.

right path in dealing with the various religious parties which agitated the Christian commonwealth. By entering as a party into the disputes between the Athanasian and Arian confessors, Constantius had enhanced the mischief, and endangered his throne. Constans was at least a consistent partisan; but Julian, by a narrow-minded backsliding into Hellenism, not differing in its nature from the bigoted adhesion of those who preceded and followed him to particular forms of faith, forfeited all chance of maintaining the balance of religious opinion, and bringing it into harmony with any enlightened scheme of civil government. Jovian had, it is probable, caught sight of the better course; but his short reign afforded no opportunity to follow the clue. Valentinian pursued it successfully in the West; but Valens, in the East, lost his balance at starting; he flung himself into the arms of a party; and with the claim to the religious obedience of one large section of his subjects, forfeited, or seriously weakened, the powers of the civil government requisite to check the exuberances of religious faction, at all times so fatally prevalent in the oriental churches.

This short glance at the political relation of the Christian churches to the state, or—which under a despotic government is the same thing—to the autocrat, appeared necessary to show the unsettled and undefined character of the sovereign authority in its connection with the spiritual powers then in action. For the present the advantages were all in favour of the state; and if the reigning princes had known how to avail themselves of their position, or had had leisure to study the character of the ecclesiastical establishment, the Church might have remained for an indefinite period in that subordination to the temporal power which, under Constantine and his immediate successors, she regarded rather as a privilege than a grievance.

Character and government of Valentinian I.

But, for the entire duration of his reign, Valentinian I. only once visited his Italian states. The rest of his time was absorbed by the defence of his position against the Germanic hordes, who had availed themselves of the manifest decline

in the military powers of the empire to inundate the maritime as well as the Rhenish and Danubian provinces, in such strength and numbers as to tax the unremitting energies of this vigorous prince to repress and to punish them. I do not find that Valentinian I. ever visited the capital. When in Italy his habitual abode was at Milan, where he could more readily superintend the military movements requisite for the defence of the empire. The rest of his reign was spent in Gaul and Germany. But his regulations for the interests of education and the public health of the towns indicate both the ability and the inclination to make himself more familiar with the administration and its machinery.[n] The sequel will show that he had already cast a searching glance at the internal state of the church of the capital, and that the abuses of priestcraft were as little likely to escape his censures as those of any other department of the public service.[o]

State of the Roman church.

The death of Liberius, in the year 366, threw open the spiritual throne of Rome to be contended—or, we might rather say, to be fought—for by two rival candidates, Damasus and Ursinus by name. Adverting for a moment to the state of the Christian population of the city, we perceive that fifty years of religious emancipation had wrought a woful change in its character and habits. The influential—probably the numerical—majority were zealously attached to the church there established. That majority still possessed a concurrent vote in the election of the metropolitan bishop, and supported the object of their choice with characteristic zeal or obstinacy. Thus, when Liberius was banished by Constantius, the news of this act of violence had scarcely reached the ears of his Roman constituents when the assembled clergy and people solemnly pledged themselves upon oath never to accept any other bishop as

[n] See *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xiv. tit. 9, de studiis, &c.; *Godef.* tom. v. p. 219, and lib. xiii. tit. iii. de medicis et professoribus, &c.; ibid. tom. v. p. 25.

[o] With all the defects in his character—violent, vindictive, passionate, and probably cruel, as he was—Valentinian I. possessed administrative abilities of no mean order. Time might have moderated his passions and strengthened his judgment. But the Roman empire of the West was doomed. See chap. viii. of my Hist. of the Germans, vol. i. p. 290.

long as Liberius should be alive. The deacon Damasus is believed to have been among the number of those who thus devoted themselves in defence of the liberties of their church. The obviously irregular ordination and intrusion of Felix,—first as substitute, and afterwards as colleague of Liberius,—gave occasion to fierce popular tumults, in which many lives were lost. Soon after the return of Liberius, his rival was ignominiously expelled from the city by the populace; and with him all those recreant ecclesiastics who, from deference to the imperial will, had falsified their own oaths, and supported the usurper. The expulsion of Felix was followed by an active persecution of his accomplices and followers. The churches, public places, the streets, and the baths were polluted with the blood of the victims of the popular frenzy: zeal for the house of God had superseded the laws of Him that dwelt therein: fifty years of prosperity had sufficed to transform the genius of Christianity into a fanatical and ferocious formalism.[p]

Damasus and Ursinus.

The persecutions of Julian had affected neither the spirit of the people nor the power and wealth of the clergy of Rome; and Constantius had been reduced to a compromise with that powerful body derogatory to the imperial dignity, and almost equally dangerous to the public peace. After their successful defiance of the imperial will, the clergy and people of Rome might regard themselves as exempt from civil control in the exercise of their ecclesiastical franchise; and the church, with such support at her back, might the more freely indulge that distaste for secular control which her independent birth and origin naturally engendered. Accordingly, no sooner had the death of Liberius thrown open the spiritual throne to competition than the church appears to have been divided into two nearly balanced parties, equally determined to carry the election of their respective candidates. Damasus was perhaps

[p] *Tillem.* Mém. Eccl. tom. vi. pp. 387, 414, 436. Conf. *Gibbon*, Decl. and Fall, vol. iii. p. 89, ed. M. and S. Gibbon has implicitly followed Tillemont. It should, however, be remarked that the story of the massacre (very probable in itself) is taken from the somewhat suspicious testimony of the presbyters Marcellinus and Faustinus, whose "Libellus," *Shepherd* (Hist. of the Ch. of Rome, p. 344) classes with the spurious Athanasian documents.

the better known; he had been the intimate friend and companion in exile of Liberius, and entered the field with the advantage of a wider connection, and a more established character. His rival Ursinus is conjectured to have been archdeacon of Rome, and is charged with maintaining a correspondence with the partisans of the late intruder Felix.[q] Damasus, it appears, obtained the suffrages of a more numerous, or perhaps rather a more energetic and vociferous body of supporters, and was ordained by them in the church of St. Lawrence. About the same time[r] the partisans of Ursinus elected and ordained him bishop in a locality called the basilica of Sisinnius, where they were almost immediately assailed by an infuriated mob of the opposite faction; and from thence, after the affray, no fewer than 137 bodies were carried away for interment. How long these sanguinary outrages, disgraceful alike to religion and government, continued to pollute the streets and churches of the metropolis is uncertain. We learn from Ammian that the frantic fanaticism of the Roman populace had overborne the control of the three successive præfects, Symmachus, Lampadius, and Juventius. The latter was succeeded by Maximinus, who was at length successful in appeasing the tumults, and punishing the ringleaders. But Ursinus was compelled to abandon the field to his rival, and was carried into exile together with some few of his more stanch supporters.[s]

Double election.

Thus, within little more than half a century from the deliverance of the Church from a state of bondage, and her exaltation to liberty and wealth and power, we are struck with the spectacle of an installation of the first bishop of the Christian world sullied by the crimes of violence and blood-

Installation of Damasus; his merits, &c.

[q] Damasus himself is said by the opposite party to have become weary of exile with Liberius, and, upon obtaining his release, to have served Felix as his bishop during the three years' banishment of Liberius. *Tillem.* Mém. Eccl. tom. vi. p. 387. But this is given upon the authority of his enemies Marcellinus and Faustinus.

[r] The contradictory nature of the evidence (see *Tillem.* ubi sup.) makes it impossible to assign the priority of time to either election.

[s] Comp. *Amm. Marcell.* lib. vii. c. 3, with *Soc.* H. E. lib. iv. c. 29, and the collection of almost irreconcilable testimony ap. *Tillem.* Mém. Eccl. vol. vi.; St. Damasus, art. i. ii. pp. 386 et sqq.

shed, emulating rather the excesses of emancipated slaves than the humble virtues of those Christians of Rome whose faith and patience had once been the admiration of the world. Yet Damasus, who stands before us as the person benefited by these crimes, if not as the chief and leader of the perpetrators, appears throughout his pontificate to have enjoyed the esteem and communion of some of the most distinguished churchmen of his age, as, for instance, Athanasius, and Peter of Alexandria, Ambrose of Milan, and Jerome of Jerusalem.[t] But in the war of opinions, as in that of armies in the field, men's merits are measured wholly by the zeal and ability they display as combatants; in both cases the better soldier is the better man. The adherents of Felix, the rival of Liberius, were still numerous in Rome; this faction was reputed to be represented by Ursinus and his supporters. But the tactics or the energy of the party attached to Damasus gave him the victory;[u] he represented the strictly Nicene profession; and accordingly his victory is celebrated by the pious Ambrose as the manifest judgment of God;[v] Jerome praises his clemency to the vanquished;[w] and Gregory of Nazianzum extols him as the "blessed Damasus."[x]

Ammianus Marcellinus on the disorders in Rome.

Yet the party of Ursinus continued for some years longer to give serious uneasiness to the victors. His friends vehemently impugned the title of Damasus, on the twofold ground of the priority of his election, and of unjustifiable violence and duress on the part of his opponents. The proceeding on behalf of Ursinus they contended was legally complete before Damasus was in the field; he was therefore the assailant, consequently chargeable with all the disorder and bloodshed resulting from illegal competition. The

[t] *Baron.* Ann. 367, § 18. *Cent. Magd.* cent. iv. c. 10, pp. 1291, 1292.—Damasus outlived Athanasius and his successor Peter; the former dying in 373, the latter in 380. Damasus survived till 384.

[u] The numbers are said by *Socrates* (lib. iv. c. 29) to have been pretty nearly equal.

[v] As quoted by *Baron.* Ann. 367, § 16.

[w] Id. ibid.

[x] Conf. *Cent. Magd.* ubi sup. I cannot, however, help thinking that the election of Damasus is more correctly described by the author of the *Liber Pontificalis* (ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 55): "constituerunt Damasum, *quia fortior* et *plurima* multitudo erat."

heathen remnant, whom we may fairly suppose to be represented by the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, regarded both parties with equal scorn, and ascribed all these enormities to the normal working of human passions in men of the ordinary stamp. "When I consider (he remarks) the love of distinction which actuates all who aspire to dignities in this city, I naturally expect that they who are anxious for this high office (the episcopate) would not shrink from any expedient of faction (or party) to obtain it. For thereby the successful candidate gains the opportunity of fattening upon the oblations of matrons; of being conveyed about in state-carriages; of appearing in public in costly dresses; of giving banquets so profuse as to surpass even royal entertainments in splendour. They might, indeed, merit the title of 'blessed,' if, instead of making the greatness of the city a pretext for indulging in these vices, they would follow the example of certain rural prelates, who, by the moderation of their meals, the cheapness of their dress, and the humble modesty of their deportment, give a pledge to God and his true worshippers for the purity and sincerity of their profession."[y]

Vices of the Roman church.

The vices thus rebuked by the heathen are acknowledged and deplored by the Christian fathers Hilary, Jerome, and Basil, in terms of even greater severity. The items of charge they have recorded against the Roman church and her proud pontiffs involve the identical reproaches of inordinate lust of power, arrogance, and sycophancy.[z] The charitable funds applicable to the relief of the poor were diverted into the private purses of the receivers; an abuse

[y] *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. 3. Valesius, in his note to this passage, quotes from Sulpicius Severus several examples of episcopal abstemiousness and humility, as, for instance, those of Martin of Tours and Germanus of Auxerre.

[z] Basil exclaims against the intolerable arrogance of the Western church (τὴν δυτικὴν ὄφρυν): "themselves," he says, "basking in prosperity, turn a deaf ear to the cries of their persecuted brethren in the East." Again, he exclaims: "if the wrath of God (the Arian persecution under Valens) should endure, what help can we expect from the arrogance of the West?" *Baron.* Ann. 372, § 22. *Jerome* (ad Heliodor. and ad Nepotianum in not. Vales. ad Amm. Marcell. ubi sup.) describes the very artifices to which the clerical sycophants of Rome resorted to open the purse-strings of the susceptible matrons and widows of their communion. And see his indignant invective against the ostentation and luxury of the Roman clergy, ap. *Baron.* ubi sup.

which seems to have been more or less prevalent both in the East and in the West. By the primitive practice, these funds were, as already observed, received and distributed by the bishops by the hands of their deacons: but in process of time the share which might be lawfully appropriated by the receiver had absorbed by far the largest portion of the whole receipt. St. Chrysostom complains that in his time this kind of peculation had arrived at such a pitch, that it was advisable that the payers should rather distribute their alms themselves than trust them in the hands of the bishops.[a]

Edict against clerical sycophancy.

The secular government had begun to interest itself in arresting the evils arising out of the wealth of the clergy, and their eagerness for further acquisition. As the law stood, all orders of clerks were exempt from the *munera publica*, and many other charges of the state, and taxes, under which the masses were wasting away in indigence and apathy. Any further increase of emolument was therefore not unlikely to operate to the greater impoverishment of the people, and to the disadvantage of a declining revenue. The rapid growth of an insolent and seditious spirit, which the contested election of Damasus had brought to light, might furnish an additional motive for checking the eagerness of clerical gain, and restricting the modes of acquisition hitherto pursued. With this view, the emperor Valentinian addressed a rescript to "Damasus bishop of Rome" prohibiting "all clerks and recluses (*continentes*) from frequenting the houses of young women (*pupillæ*) or widows; and, under pretence of religion, receiving from them money, or any kind of valuable commodity, whether by way of free gift or of testamentary bequest—all gifts or conveyances of such a nature to be forfeited to the imperial treasury." This edict was in due form publicly read in all the churches of Rome.[b]

The severer churchmen had all along set their faces against these malpractices, and signified their conviction

[a] *Chrys.* hom. 21 ad ep. Paul. ad Corin. ap. *Vales.* not. in Amm. Marcell. ubi sup.

[b] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, l. 20; Godef. tom. vi. p. 53. This ordinance was published in the churches on the 27th July A.D. 370.

Censures of the severer churchmen.

of the necessity for some remedy against the growing evil. The address of this edict to Damasus of Rome threw the duty of carrying it into execution upon him, though it may not countenance the conjecture that the suggestion originated *from* him.[c] Not long afterwards Ambrose and Jerome acknowledged and deeply deplored the necessity of secular laws for arresting the rapacity and sycophancy of the lower orders of the clergy, and for protecting credulous women against the snares of clerical impostors and mendicants. About two years afterwards (A.D. 372) the prohibition was extended to bishops and female recluses;[d] a circumstance which seems to show that the practices to be guarded against were not confined to the inferior classes of religious persons, though probably the higher may have been chargeable with them in a mitigated degree.[e]

Complaint.

Up to the close of the fourth century, indeed, we discover no inclination on the part of the Church to dispute, but rather a readiness to approve, the interference of the state for the correction of ecclesiastical vices, and the regulation of the practice of the clergy in their dealings with the laity. The imperial decrees were addressed directly to the bishop, as the proper officer for their execution; and they were promulgated in the churches, just as laws touching secular matters were, according to the subject-matter, published either in the senate, the courts of law, or the camp.[f] There is, however, some appearance that the ecclesiastical writers of the age regarded these ordinances as extraordinary acts of legislation, rendered necessary by the evils of the times; and they mention them with bitter and jealous regret that the vices of individuals should

[c] *Baron.* Ann. 370, § 123. Godefroy contests the suggestion of Baronius that this edict was obtained at the solicitation of Damasus. The cardinal thereby endeavours to escape the offensive inference, that the state, of its own mere motion, had meddled with the morals or discipline of the Church.

[d] *Cod. Theod.* ubi sup. l. 22, p. 56. This at least is the construction put by *Godefroy* upon this short and rather obscure ordinance.

[e] There was, however, nothing in these laws to preclude the churches from taking donations or bequests from male donors, or in any other way than by the illicit solicitations described in these ordinances.

[f] See *Godefroy*, in his comments upon the latter of these ordinances; ubi sup. p. 56.

have deprived the clergy of those powers of acquisition which were enjoyed by the meanest of the laity.[g]

But, in her relations with the Latin churches, any loss of character suffered by the church of Rome and her clergy from these manifold delinquencies was amply compensated by the successful share she had taken in the extinguishment of Arianism in the West. The unanimity of these churches among themselves, and their attachment to Rome, had been strengthened by their late sufferings and perplexities under Constantius and Julian. A general condonation of all compliances and defections which had occurred under the pressure of persecution appeared to the majority the readiest mode of pacification. These defections had, indeed, been so numerous, and the number of the delinquents so considerable, as to defy ecclesiastical censure; and thus, when Lucifer of Cagliari, and a few other Italian and Spanish prelates who had escaped or braved the severities of Constantius, insisted upon putting the canons in force against the offenders, they themselves fell under condemnation as schismatics and disturbers of the peace of the Church.[h]

Union of the West under Rome.

The state of the Eastern churches presents a very different aspect. Under the patronage of the emperor Valens, Arianism had achieved an almost universal ascendency. The bishops and magistrates of the imperial communion had obtained from the civil government all the powers requisite for an effective persecution; and these powers were executed with merciless severity and cruelty.[i] At the same moment, the orthodox remnant in the East was divided by differences arising out of those rigid principles of doctrinal purity which involved the minutest compliances with the stress of the times in the same condemnation with declared heresy. Thus the church of Antioch, where a numerous Nicene, or rather Athanasian, party still held up its head, had elected a bishop named Mele-

Discord in the East.

[g] See the strictures of Ambrose and Jerome upon the laws, apud *Godef.* ubi sup. cit. pp. 54, 55.

[h] *Ruffin.* lib. i. c. 28; *Baron.* Ann. 371, § 132.

[i] *Socrat.* H. E. lib. iv. cc. 15-18.

tius to preside over their communion. The puritans, however, alleged that he had been indebted for his see to the connivance or active aid of the Arians, under the expectation that he would return the obligation by illicit favours to their party. This faction, therefore, at the instance of one Paulinus, had renounced the communion of Meletius. But the latter had in the mean time disappointed the hopes of his Arian supporters, and was banished by the emperor Valens for openly embracing and teaching Athanasian doctrine. The Meletians, however, remained faithful to their exiled bishop; and the schism in the church of Antioch was completed by the somewhat unaccountable arrival there of two western prelates of the puritan party, Lucifer of Cagliari and Eusebius of Vercelli. At their suggestion, the original author of the schism, Paulinus, was ordained bishop; and although Meletius was released from confinement by the death of Valens in the year 375, the schism was perpetuated by the adhesion of the orthodox bishops of Egypt and Cyprus to the communion of Paulinus; and, as it should seem also, by that of Damasus and the western churches, probably from deference to the example set them by the eastern prelates. In the interim, however, the orthodox communities in the East, weakened by internal dissensions, and pressed upon by active persecution from without, had looked anxiously to the West for support under their manifold afflictions. The interference of the good bishop Basil of Cæsarea in Cappadocia had failed to assuage the animosities of the orthodox factions. To the West he looked without hope, and declined to solicit the aid of Damasus, from an impression that the same self-sufficiency, supineness, and pride, which had hitherto closed the ears and hearts of the western churches to the cries of their eastern brethren, must continue to render their interference as mediators ineffectual, if not pernicious.[j]

[j] The reader is referred for the materials of the preceding paragraph to the statements (not always very clearly reconcilable with each other) of *Socrates* (lib. ii. c. 44), *Sozomen* (lib. iv. c. 28), *Theodoret* (lib. ii. c. 31), and *Ruffinus* (c. 20). He will compare with these the "Tomus ad Antiochenses" and the "Epistola ad Solitarios," imputed to Athanasius, as extracted by *Baronius*,

Amid the difficulties which surround the dogmatic history of the oriental churches, we perceive that the widely-diffused schism of the Meletians and Paulinians in the Antiochian diocese had turned fully as much upon certain subtle questions of doctrine as upon the merits of the two elections. It is obvious that much confusion existed in men's minds as to the true acceptation of the terms of the Nicene confession. The Arians were suspected of a design to take advantage of this state of uncertainty to substitute their own definitions for the more strict and literal exposition of the puritan, or, as it is sometimes called, the Eustathian party. These disputes appear to have run upon the signification of the terms "substance" or "being," and "hypostasis" or "person:"[k] the Arians strained every nerve to identify or confound them with one another; the orthodox strove to maintain the sharp and literal distinction. For what reason it is difficult to guess, Rome had sided with the Paulinians. Athanasius and Jerome had done the like. The former, however, was drawing towards the close of his distinguished career; and Jerome, then a young man, became perplexed by the dialectic subtleties put forth by the several parties which divided the oriental churches. But Jerome was a pupil of the Roman school; and the spiritual mother from which he had drawn his Christian life presented herself to his mind as the proper arbitress of doctrinal orthodoxy. At the somewhat early age of twenty-nine or thirty, he wrote to the octogenarian Damasus, invoking, in his own name and that of his friends in the East, the authoritative decision of St. Peter's chair upon the questions which had so seriously perplexed them all. He was, he said, weary of the unprofitable disputes about *words*

Jerome on the chair of Peter.

ad ann. 370 and 372. And conf. *Shepherd* (Hist. of the Rom. Ch. pp. 402 et sqq.). With reference to the complaint of Basil (ep. x.), see *Fleury*, II. E. tom. iii. p. 325; and conf. *Baron.* An. 372, § 24, p. 364, and § 50, p. 374. In a letter of Basil to Count Terentius, he boldly charges the western churches with culpable ignorance of the state of religion in the East; a state of things inconsistent with effectual mediation, or with any kind of right to interfere between the parties. See also *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. viii. pp. 402, 403.

[k] οὐσία and ὑπόστασις.

which prevailed among the theologians of the East; but he feared lest he should still be seduced by the importunity of parties into a state of mental confusion that might in the end involve him in a shipwreck of the faith. He therefore requested from his spiritual father official instructions as to the precise sense in which he was to accept the terms "substance" and "person" without the risk of confounding or misapplying them. "It is difficult," he proceeds, "amid the fury of faction,—among these broken cisterns that hold no water, to discover whence the true fountain of living waters springs forth . . . . therefore I have resolved that it is my bounden duty to resort to the chair of Peter, and there to inquire concerning the faith as it proceeded from the lips of the apostle himself; seeking even there, where I first took upon me the garment of Christ, the food needful for the nourishment of the soul. . . . . Among us here the evil brood hath dissipated the precious estate; and now the incorrupt inheritance of the fathers is found among you alone . . . . here in the East all is weed and wild-oats: the Sun of righteousness now rises in the West; in the East, the Lucifer of the fall exalteth his throne above the stars. *You* are now the light of the world! *You* are the salt of the earth! You are the vessels of gold and silver; the rest are but earthen pots! . . . . I therefore now demand a sacrifice from the priest—from the shepherd I ask protection for the flock: lay aside, therefore, I beseech you, the pride of Roman supremacy. I address myself to the humble successors of the Fisherman—to the disciples of the Cross! Following no other leader than Christ himself, I cling to your communion—that is, to the chair of Peter. I know that upon that rock the Church was built; I know that whoso eateth the paschal lamb outside the house is profane—that he that hath no place within the ark perisheth in the deluge. Yet I cannot always take council from you; therefore I attach myself here to those Egyptian confessors (the Athanasian party) whom you acknowledge as your brethren in the faith. . . . . But I know

nothing of Vitalis; I renounce Meletius; I have nothing to do with Paulinus: whoso gathereth not with *you* scattereth; whoso is not for Christ is for Antichrist."[1]

Contrasted opinion of Basil and Jerome on the chair of Peter.

The difference of the tone observable in the treatment of the see of Rome by Basil and Jerome arose from the different points of view from which these writers contemplated the position and authority of the great western patriarch. The "chair of Peter" had no place in Basil's mind; he neither expected nor desired any other assistance from Rome than what should arise from active sympathy, and the strenuous exertion of her vast influence to solve the doubts and mitigate the sufferings of the orthodox churches in the East. But instead of that sympathy and fellowship, he met with supercilious neglect, and therefore boldly pronounced her to have thereby disqualified herself as a mediator, and to have forfeited the confidence of his communion, which, under any other circumstances, would have joyfully and gratefully accepted her support. In the mind of Jerome, on the other hand, the "chair of Peter" was uppermost. It is probable that he was less intent upon mitigating the physical sufferings of the eastern churches than upon putting an end to those vexatious logomachies which were undermining Christian fellowship among the orthodox sections of the Christian body, and preventing a united effort to recover their religious liberties, or—what in that age amounted to much the same thing—to overthrow those of their antagonists. Jerome, in conformity with the prevailing impression of the western churches, had, we think, identified in his mind the chair of Peter, considered as the symbol of church-unity, with the unity of the faith itself, so that any departure from Rome must be equally deemed a departure from that faith and

[1] See the abstract of this letter, ap. *Baron.* An. 372, §§ 47, 48, 49. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. iii. pp. 320-322. Notwithstanding Mr. *Shepherd's* objections (Hist. of the Ch. of Rome, pp. 302 et sqq.), in the West, I feel little doubt that the prevailing disposition of the western world was to treat the so-called "chair of Peter" as the judicial arbiter of doctrinal orthodoxy; and that Jerome should have participated in that opinion seems to me quite natural.

a secession from the fellowship of the spiritual Church-catholic.[m]

Grounds of Jerome's opinion.

It is not, indeed, very easy to reconcile the liberal ideas of Jerome respecting the origin and character of the episcopate[n] with his extraordinary reverence for that episcopate when lodged in the chair of Peter. Such rigid consistency of idea and language is, however, not to be found in the history of any system, political or religious, which is not of an upstart or artificial growth. If we would do justice to the leading men of any age, we must look, not to occasional discrepancies or irregularities of expression, but to the prevailing current of thought and opinion, in which, as in a mirror, the mental tendencies of the age to which they belong are reflected back upon us. The traditional notions of Jerome respecting the origin of the episcopate were obviously overborne by the splendour of the equally traditional chair of Peter. Here he beheld that centre of unity, that supreme tribunal, to which he looked for relief from those perplexing doubts, for the solution of which he could not trust to his own powers of mind; and this belief was not disturbed by the lively sense he entertained of the moral delinquencies of the church to which he looked up with so much reverence.[o]

Decline of practical Christianity.

If, indeed, the spiritual authority of the church of Rome had in any degree depended upon the moral deserts of her ministers at this point of time, she could not have maintained for a day her exalted station in the Catholic world. The election of the reigning bishop had been stained with sedition and murder; and, whatever may have been the *legal* merits of that election, his conduct towards his vanquished enemies displays a vindictive harshness altogether unbecoming a Christian pastor;[p] and although the report of these

[m] Yet it does not appear in any of the writings of Jerome that he was at all familiar with the Cyprianic documents or the Apostolical Constitutions.

[n] Conf. ch. vi. p. 137.

[o] *Hieron.* ep. 22 ad Eustachium, ep. 2 ad Nepotianum.

[p] The proceedings against the followers of Ursinus may perhaps in part be imputed to the harshness of the government-officers intrusted with the suppression of the disorders which the schism had engendered, &c. *Tillem.* tom. viii. pp. 391-395.

cruel proceedings comes to us from a hostile source,[q] yet the character of the Roman clergy at this period, as deposed to alike by heathen and Christian writers, must leave the strongest misgivings behind of the guilty participation of their chief in the atrocities of his supporters. On all hands we are assured that pride, and the love of ease and luxury, had impaired the usefulness of the clergy of Rome, and that ambition, eagerness of place and power, hypocrisy and rapacity, had contaminated their reputation to an extent that spread dismay among all whose thoughts reverted to the purer standard of primitive Christianity. But that age had passed away for ever. The nature of the tree was no longer judged of by its fruits. The men of these times were more jealous of their understandings than their hearts—more vigilant against metaphysical error than moral impurity. The vitality of Christian life and faith was fast pining away under pressure of religious formalism; and the history of the Church becomes henceforth little more than the history of exasperated factions, resembling in its results rather the vicissitudes of secular warfare than that struggle against the powers of darkness and of sin, through which we desire to trace the progress of Christ's kingdom upon earth.

Religious sedition in Rome—Ursinians.

Three parties in the church of Rome continued for some years to disturb the episcopal reign of Damasus. Valentinian I., to whom the tranquillity of the city was of more importance than the decision of the quarrel between the rival bishops, yielded to the solicitations of Ursinus and his friends, and ordered their recall—probably under the impression that clemency might be more effectual than the severities of his prætects Juventius and Maximinus; but he gave directions at the same time, in case of a further breach of the peace, to punish them with exemplary severity.[r] But the presence of the pretender seems to have been the signal for fresh disturbances; and the latter—as it is alleged, with a view to save bloodshed—sur-

[q] The Libellus of Marcellinus and Faustinus.
[r] *Baron.* Ann. 368, § 54.

rendered himself to the civil power, and was, together with several of his most active partisans, conveyed to different places of banishment. The removal of Ursinus at length enabled the præfect Prætextatus to appease the seditious spirit of the Roman populace, and to restore them to an unwonted state of peace and prosperity.[s] But it was a more difficult task to unite them in tranquil submission to the pastoral staff of Damasus. The Ursinians, though deprived of their priests, continued to hold clandestine meetings in the catacombs of the city, and even to keep possession of the church of St. Agnes, in the suburbs of Rome. But, according to the account of their advocates, they were expelled from that last asylum by bishop Damasus, with the aid of the urban præfect Maximin, a man of unbridled violence and cruelty.[t] But the remnant of this faction never ceased to harass the government of Damasus almost to the close of his pontificate.

Luciferians.

A second faction, though less dangerous to the authority, was scarcely less fatiguing to the patience of the aged but impetuous pontiff. The party in the Italian churches which had quarrelled with the indulgence extended to the repentant seceders during the persecution of Constantius, acknowledged Lucifer bishop of Cagliari as their chief, and from him took the name of Luciferians. These persons appear to have renounced the communion of Damasus with equal pertinacity, though upon a different ground from that alleged by the Ursinians.[u] The troubles raised by these sectarians, though less violent, were of much longer continuance than those which had given so much trouble to the civil government.

[s] *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. ix. p. 542. *Tillem.* Mém. tom. viii. p. 392.

[t] *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, as compared with *Ruffinus*, ap. *Tillem.* ibid. p. 394. These troubles in Rome appear to have lasted, with intermissions, from the death of Liberius in the year 366, to the year 378, or even beyond that year. See extract from epp. *Ambros.* ap. *Tillemont*, ubi sup. p. 408. Ursinus is said to have apostatised to the Arians of Milan and Pannonia, and with their assistance to have greatly annoyed Damasus.

[u] Marcellinus and Faustinus take up the defence of the Luciferians against Damasus almost as if they had made common cause with the Ursinians. It may, however, be only that they wished to inculpate Damasus in the cruelties alleged to have been inflicted upon the Luciferians. *Tillem.* Mém. &c. tom. viii. p. 405.

Damasus, as it is alleged, encouraged by the support he had hitherto received from the emperor, proceeded with great severity against the schismatics. A Luciferian priest, Macarius by name, held nocturnal assemblages of his party at Rome; but, having been detected by the spies of Damasus, the latter, at the head of a body of police, arrested and dragged him away with so much violence as to inflict a wound of which he afterwards died. His partisans fared no better than their leader; the bishop, seconded by the civil power, caused many priests and laymen who had renounced his communion to be expelled from Rome, probably as participators in the illegal assemblies of Macarius. But it appears that these severities were limited to those who could be brought within the operation of the civil law, and that he was powerless against the less adventurous members of the secession church, whose orthodoxy he could not impugn, and who had abstained from the factious proceedings that had brought their more active brethren into trouble.[v] Damasus is reported to have made several abortive attempts to get the Luciferian bishop of Rome, Aurelius, expelled from the city. The party held its ground, and after the death of Aurelius ordained one Ephesus, against whom Damasus was equally unsuccessful.

A third party, though less formidable in point of numbers, contributed to enhance the troubles of Damasus. The African Donatists, always the most active disturbers of the peace of the Church, had maintained a certain hold upon the Christian population of Rome and Italy, and had been regularly supplied with a bishop of their communion by their brethren in Africa. Many attempts to expel them had been unsuccessful, and they continued, under the eye of the orthodox pontiff, to re-baptise many of the lower classes, in token of their utter rejection of all communion contaminated by heathen or heretical compliances. The Donatist infection was not confined to Rome; other Italian cities felt the influence of this pernicious faction.

The Donatists.

[v] Extr. from *Marcell.* and *Faust.*, ap. *Tillem.* tom. viii. p. 405.

Known, as it was, to the government for its vehement and seditious character, it appears to have attracted the attention of Valentinian; and an order was at length despatched to Aquilinus, vicar or præfect of Rome, to send back the schismatic bishop Claudian, then resident there, to his friends in Africa, where it was thought he could do no great harm.[w] Whether this order was ever complied with, we have no precise information. But it is clear that during the pontificate of Damasus there were no fewer than four claimants to episcopal authority within the city of Rome; and that three of these claimants had defied the authority of the fourth, or government-bishop, during the whole or the greater part of his episcopate.[x]

Gratian and Valentinian II. emperors.

Throughout the reign of Valentinian I. the dominant church was supported by the state, only to the extent necessary to prevent the popular disorders incident to religious dissension. In the year 367 the emperor associated his son Gratianus with himself in the empire at the early age of eight years; so that at the death of his father, by apoplexy in the year 375, Gratian was only sixteen years and six months old. Immediately after the decease of Valentinian I., the army saluted his second son Valentinian, half-brother to Gratian, and then a child of scarcely five years of age, emperor and colleague to his brother. The reigning sovereign confirmed the election, and his uncle Valens not long afterwards gave his assent to the nomination. And thus it happened that the sceptre of the western world was now wielded by two princes, the one almost an infant, and the other within the age of boyhood. But Gratian possessed character and ability; he was at the same time of an affectionate disposition, and watched over the education of his infant colleague with more than paternal solicitude. More accessible, and perhaps less warlike than his father, the churchmen could

[w] Conf. Resc. Valent. et Gratian. Impp. ad Aquilin. Vic. in app. ad *Cod. Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 19. See also the ep. of the Roman council to which this rescript was the reply,—Id. ibid. p. 18.

[x] The Ursinian, Luciferian, and Donatist bishops may, or may not, have assumed the title of "Bishop of Rome;" but it is at all events pretty certain that neither of them would have acknowledged any other.

not fail to derive advantage from the change of government. Damasus, and the Italian prelates of his party, promptly availed themselves of the opportunity of a new reign to obtain the concurrence of the civil government in the strong measures contemplated for the suppression of schism. A council was held at Rome, and a petition presented to the emperor, requesting in their name that "the civil magistrate of the Italian and suburbicarian provinces should be commanded to arrest and send to Rome all bishops who, after judgment of deprivation by the metropolitan bishop or of the petitioning council, should remain contumacious;[y] that if any such offender should reside out of the jurisdiction of that magistrate, the præfect of the province or district where he dwelt should be directed to cause the accused to be taken before the metropolitan of that province; but if the delinquent should himself happen to be of metropolitan rank, then at once to have him conveyed to Rome for trial, or before such judges as the Roman pontiff should appoint for that purpose." But lest that pontiff himself should be brought within the principle of responsibility applicable to other bishops, they declared that "he, *being by the prerogative of the apostolic see superior in rank, though equal as to the ministry, to all other bishops*, ought not to be made amenable to any criminal judicature, for that he could only be proceeded against by a council of bishops, or *by the emperor in person;* in which case the proper course would be for the sovereign to empower the secular judge to take informations, and examine witnesses for his (the emperor's) guidance, but without power to try or pass any manner of judgment."[z]

Petition of the Roman council to Gratian.

In reply to this petition, Gratian addressed an imperial rescript to Aquilinus, vicar (probably) of the Roman vicariate, severely reprov-

Rescript of Gratian to Aquilinus.

[y] Continue to decline the communion of Damasus.

[z] *Gothof. Cod. Theodos.* vol. vi. app. pp. 17 and 18. This letter, we are informed by the Jesuit Sirmond, was disinterred from among the Mss. of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and is, together with the imperial rescript appended, commonly regarded as genuine. See Sirmond's preface to the app. p. 1. Cardinal *Baronius* has printed both—as he alleges, for the first time—in his Ann. Eccles. ann. 381, § 1, 2.

ing that officer for neglecting to execute the decree of the year 367 enjoining the banishment of all who frequented the assemblies of schismatics or heretics[a] to a distance of at least one hundred Roman miles from the capital; and reminding him that accessories are as guilty as principals.[b] The emperor, contrasting the condign punishments of Ursinus and Isaac the Jew with the impunity of the schismatic bishops of Parma and Puteoli, and of Claudian the Donatist bishop of Rome, under connivance of his præfects, and in the very teeth of the imperial ordinances, commands the strictest execution of those ordinances for the future, and extends the penalty to the cases of all persons whom the episcopal councils shall point out as disturbers of the religious peace of the communities where they shall reside; all such persons are to be banished to the distance of one hundred miles from Rome, and to be excluded from the cities and towns where they might have carried on their forbidden practices: the præfects of Gaul and Italy are commanded to arrest and send to Rome all bishops and priests who, being duly condemned and deposed by the metropolitan pontiff and a council of five or seven bishops, shall contumaciously retain their sees, and to bring them before that tribunal, there to abide their trial and sentence. But if the delinquents shall happen to reside in more distant parts of the empire, the inquest shall take place before the metropolitan bishop of the province; or, if the accused prelate be himself of metropolitan rank, he shall without delay present himself at Rome before such judges as the bishop of that city may appoint, and abide their judgment: the penalty is, however, restricted to sequestration from the episcopacy, and banishment from the city or place where the culprit had resided as bishop.[c]

[a] "Impios cœtus"—denoting religious assemblies for the purposes of common worship. See *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. 5, ll. 4 and 5, in which the "cœtus hæreticorum" are described.

[b] See the law to that effect in C. T. lib. ix. tit. 29, l. 1.

[c] *Cod. Theod.* app. ad tom. vi. p. xix. The rescript takes no notice of the request of the petitioning prelates to be exempt from lay prosecution. It should be remarked, however, that considerable doubts have been started respecting the genuineness of both these documents. 1. It is said that the rescript has no place in any recension of the Theodosian code. 2. There is no scintilla of evidence that any ecclesias-

Object and character of the petition and rescript.

It must strike us as a singular, if not a suspicious circumstance, that if this law was in existence when the Theodosian code was compiled and published (A.D. 438), it should have been wholly passed over by the collectors.[d] The ordinance, it should be observed, runs in the name of the western emperor only, and could not therefore have any legislative effect in the East. With respect to its character and operation in the West, we notice that the petitioners based their application upon the pressure of the times, the necessity of suppressing certain schisms, and the restoration of religious tranquillity, disturbed by temporary causes. The government of Gratian granted the remedy pointed out by themselves—a remedy of the same character as the causes that called for it. From the terms of the petition, and the nature of the evils and disorders recited in it, the emperor might well understand that he was called upon to give an extraordinary remedy for an extraordinary emergency, without any ground to suspect that he was required to publish a new organic law for the government of the Church, taking the cognisance of a large class of purely ecclesiastical offences out of the hands of the canonical tribunals and vesting it in the hands of the bishop of Rome. The petitioners themselves, though they acknowledge Damasus to be their

tical writer or any author of any age had ever seen or used them before they were fortuitously discovered in the sixteenth century. 3. The rescript is without date of place or time. 4. Though it affects the duties of the highest officers in the state, only one is named, and *that* by the vague appellation of "vicarius," without designation of the province or civil division over which he presided. 5. The decree purports to extend to the eastern as well as to the western divisions of the empire, enumerating proconsuls in the plural, though there was but one in the west (the proconsul of Africa); naming the great prefectures, and then talking of "more distant provinces." 6. It is inconsistent with the division of territory and powers in the empire, and at variance with the political circumstances of the times. 7. It is equally inconsistent with the genuine spirit of the laws of Gratian in the Theodosian collection, which strictly follow the regulations of the preceding councils, referring all ecclesiastical disputes to the diocesan and provincial authorities, in conformity with the v^th^ and vi^th^ canons of the council of Nice. See the edict of 376, addressed to certain bishops therein named (Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2, l. 23), and specially headed with the precise date and name of the city whence it was issued.—Mr. *Faber* (Sac. Cal. of Prophecy, vol. i. p. 126, note), though he admits the genuineness of the edict, describes it as "scanty, penurious, defective, and ambiguous." Conf. *Shepherd*, Hist. &c. p. 397.

[d] Perhaps it was not deemed by them to come under the description of the "jus principale," but only as a temporary ordinance not operative beyond its immediate object.

prince and president, and show every desire to strengthen his hands against the enemies by whom he was at that time beset, yet do not allege that he possessed any independent powers of his own, nor do they set up any antecedent or inherent right, human or divine, on his behalf. They crave the aid of the civil magistrate to enforce their spiritual decrees as a matter of grace and favour; they grant the responsibility of the clergy to the state in all civil matters; and though they deprecate all minor tribunals in the causes of their pontiff, yet they admit his liability in the last resort to the imperial judgment.[e]

The decree of Gratian a local and temporary ordinance.

We feel, therefore, little difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the powers granted to the bishop of Rome by this edict—treating it as a genuine document—not only did not affect the whole empire, or possess the character of an organic law, but that it really applied to a limited district; though as to what provinces that district extended to it is very difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at any positive opinion. It may perhaps be generally described as a local ordinance, intended to give effect to the patriarchal jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome under circumstances of occasional pressure, and to protect it against the indiscipline of its own clergy, and perhaps against the disturbing interferences of adverse parties in other parts of the western empire.

[e] "Quoniam non novum aliquid petit, sed sequitur exemplum majorum, ut episcopus Romanus, si concilio ejus causa non creditur, apud concilium se imperiale defendat." See the Petition, ubi sup. p. xviii. in fin.

APPENDICES TO BOOK I.

A. Chap. i. p. 19.

The Jews of Babylonia.—During several generations before the birth of Christ, the Jews had settled in great numbers in Babylonia; and had at length grown into a kind of national existence. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Babylon was the recognised capital of that great section of the Hebrew nation who had never returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, as well as of that commercial portion of the people who were settled there for the purposes of trade. That city thus became the recognised capital of the "Dispersion," and the seat of Jewish religion and learning; counting a population within its walls many times outnumbering the Hebrews settled in Rome, or any other city within or beyond the limits of the empire, Alexandria perhaps alone excepted. Here the Babylonian Talmud, the most sacred and elaborate of the two great collections of the Jewish traditions, was composed; and here that extraordinary people continued to live, under an hereditary prince of their own race and nation, till the close of the fourth century after Christ. But what with Roman invasions, intestine factions, political revolutions, and barbarian misgovernment, the remnant of the Jews afterwards transferred itself to the neighbouring cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and other places where a temporary asylum might be found against the desperate calamities of the times. *Simon*, Miss. and Martyrd. &c. p. 182-187.

In the age of the apostle Peter, the Babylonian settlement of the Dispersion was probably the most important colony of the nation. The mission of that apostle was to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," a designation especially applied by Christ to the Jews of the Dispersion, denoting their final severance from the land of promise. Conf. *Gal.* ii. 6-9. It is reasonable to believe that, with this special mission on his mind, his attention would be turned principally to this most appropriate field of labour; and when we find the same apostle afterwards dating a letter to his converts of the immediately adjoining provinces from that city *by name*, it would be difficult to persuade us that it was written from a city between two and three thousand miles off, where he had little business connected with his peculiar mission, and where, in fact, his colleague Paul was labouring with so much assiduity and success.

Why, then, should Peter have travelled to Rome to meet his death in that capital? Or, is there any preponderating reason to show that his martyrdom did not take place in this proper field of his labours, the Mesopotamian Babylon? Is it to be supposed that the Jews of that capital had neither the inclination nor the power to put him to death?—they, who in their national capacity had power to put the Saviour to death, to stone Stephen, and to kill James the brother of the Lord, and many others whom they regarded as the enemies of their religion? It is tolerably clear that the Jews existed in Babylonia as a nation; that they had their own princes and rulers, and that they were in general protected by the Persian government, under which they lived in the days of Peter. To any one who has read the Scriptures of the New Testament, the bitter hatred of the Jews to the professors of Christianity is familiarly known. In every town or city of the empire, whether in Asia or in Europe, where a Christian congregation had collected, the converts to the new religion had to encounter the unrelenting persecution of the Jewish residents. 2 *Tim.* iii. 11, 12. The deaths of Stephen and James at Jerusalem, the violent attempts upon the life of Paul in Asia Minor, the sanguinary seditions in Rome and other cities caused by the enmity of the Jews against their Christian countrymen, leave no doubt that whenever circumstances should throw the power to persecute into their hands, they would not allow it to pass by unimproved.

Now, if the genuineness of the second epistle of Peter be taken for granted (though it be admitted that up to the middle of the fourth century doubts were still entertained upon that point. *Euseb.* lib. iii. c. 3), that apostle, when he wrote it, anticipated not only his speedy martyrdom, but foretold the manner of it, "even as the Lord had showed him" (2 *Pet.* i. 14). This epistle contains moreover an intimation that it was intended for the use of the same persons, and that it was written from the same place, as the first epistle (2 *Pet.* iii. 1). If, therefore, Peter did not die in the Mesopotamian Babylon, he must have quitted it very shortly after he wrote this second epistle; and in the short interval between the writing of that epistle and his own death he must have travelled to Rome to honour that city by his martyrdom. But, again, it is manifest that Peter was not at Rome when Paul, very shortly before his own death, wrote his second epistle to Timothy; for it is inconceivable that, if he had been there at that moment, the latter should have omitted all notice of so eminent a colleague, not only in the body of the letter, where he mentions several of his fellow-labourers by name, but also in the salutations he sends to his disciples from their common friends at Rome (2 *Tim.* iv. 21; conf. *Macknight* on the Epistles, iv. 153). But Peter and Paul are said both to have suffered about the same time; neither is it improbable that they did; yet we think it extremely doubtful that they suffered in the same place. And when we take into the account that Peter's mission was to "those of the circumcision," as Paul's was to "those of the uncircumcision," it is most natural to suppose that both bore their testimony where it was most likely to conduce to the providential purpose—the conversion,

to wit, of Gentiles by Paul, and of Jews by Peter. Add to this, that the Jews of Babylonia were a numerous and important political body, living under their own laws, ruled by their own chief, notoriously possessing great wealth and importance in the realm they inhabited, and therefore fully able, by virtue of the privileges they enjoyed (as under the Roman so also under the Persian government), to direct the vengeance of the people against the capital enemy of their religion. We cannot, therefore, help thinking it far more probable that St. Peter suffered in the Mesopotamian capital than that he travelled at the latest period of his life to Rome to partake the honour of martyrdom with his colleague St. Paul.

B. Chap. i. p. 23.

First Epistle of Peter and St. Mark's Gospel.—There is great difference of opinion among divines both of the Roman and the Reformed churches as to the place from whence the first epistle of Peter was written, as well as upon the questions when and where the gospel of Mark was indited. Baronius and Bellarmine entertain no doubt, and will permit none to be entertained, that the epistle was written from Rome (*nomine* Babylon). On the other hand, Valesius, Dupin, and Peter de Marca (archbishop of Paris), maintain that it was written from the Mesopotamian Babylon, and not from Rome. Now, it is clear that if we do not believe Papias to have applied the mystical term "Babylon" to Rome, there is equally little ground to believe that he intended to represent the gospel of Mark to have been taken down from the preaching of Peter at Rome. It is, indeed, remarkable that, for so important an event as the preaching of the great apostle of the circumcision in the capital city of the uncircumcision, the almost contemporary reporter (Papias) should have assigned no better reason than the pursuit of a common impostor and juggler. It is equally remarkable that he should have mentioned no other circumstance connected with this visit, nor a single act done there by so great a personage, excepting the downfall and death of his adversary. As to the composition of the gospel, it appears clearly from the account of Eusebius that Peter either knew nothing about Mark's having written down his preaching at Rome, or that he was not there at the time Mark wrote, since a special revelation was required to inform him of the fact, and to procure his approval. It must be confessed that the whole account, as derived from Papias, wears every appearance of empty gossip, if not of invention or fable. Eusebius himself is not disposed to place any great confidence in his informant. After enumerating many stories gleaned from Papias about Christ and his apostles, and other marvellous incidents to which he is not inclined to attach any credit, he says of the writer (H. E. lib. iii. c. 39), that "he seemed to him (Eusebius) to have been a man of feeble intelligence, as appeared from his books."

C. Chap. ii. p. 41, note (h).

Σκηνώματα or τρόπαια of Apostles and Martyrs.—The later fathers speak of the apostles and martyrs having their sepulchral monuments or trophies at Rome. After the establishment of Christianity, it became notoriously a common custom to erect martyria—identical with the *τρόπαια* of Gaius—to the heroes of the faith in all the principal cities of the empire. Thus the proto-martyr Stephen had his trophy at Ancona, though his body was certainly not deposited there. St. Peter himself had his trophy at Constantinople in the days of Eusebius, though no portion of his relics was preserved there. St. Lawrence had a similar monument at Ravenna, though he suffered at a great distance from that city. So also we find, in the middle of the fourth century, a trophy at Constantinople in honour of St. Andrew, to which his remains are believed to have been transported from the distant place of his martyrdom. Among many other instances of the same practice, we learn that Ignatius had his trophy at Antioch, though it was notorious that he suffered at Rome. And, indeed, it is sufficiently obvious, from the terms in which these martyria are mentioned by the fathers of the fourth century, that the locality of a martyrdom was not regarded as established by the existence of a trophy in honour of the martyr, or even by the actual deposit of his body or relics within it. Thus Augustine, though fully aware of the existence of a trophy to Peter at Rome, mentions it only as a common report that his relics were deposited there. Eusebius, in his life of Constantine, gives a detailed account of the cenotaphs erected by that prince at Constantinople in honour of the apostles; and Chrysostom, in reference to these structures, wherever they might have been set up, speaks of them as if the bodies of the apostles and martyrs they represented had been *de facto* deposited within them. This kind of constructive presence naturally enough encouraged a popular belief in the actual possession of the venerated remains; and thus, in the succeeding ages, all the greater cities believed themselves possessed of the martyrs' bodies because they had their trophies or cenotaphs perpetually before their eyes. See the authorities collected by *Simon*, Miss. and Martyrd. &c. p. 88. Subsequently, the practice of parcelling out the bodies of saints and martyrs among many churches gave rise to a multitude of spurious traditions as to the places where they delivered their testimony; each city or place where a trophy or a relic was to be found claiming the honour of counting them among their countrymen and spiritual progenitors.

N.B. Letter D was inadvertently omitted in the list of Appendices.

E. Chap. iii. p. 67, note (a).

The Ignatian Epistles.—Prior to the recent discovery of a Syriac text of the epistles of Ignatius, it was on all hands acknowledged that

the materials for a restoration of the genuine text of those documents were wholly insufficient. For more than a century past a war of theories and conjectures has been waged among scholars, shallow and profound, of both persuasions; by the greater number, it must be admitted, in the hope of reproducing a text which should answer their respective ecclesiastical theories touching the primitive form of church-government. In the year 1845, however, the learned world of critics and theologians was thrown off its balance by the publication of a Syriac version of three of these epistles. From some intelligence previously received, it had been conjectured that among the mass of Mss. known to be heaped up in the ancient Coptic convents of the Egyptian deserts of the Natron lakes a copy of the Ignatian letters might still be in existence. Dr. Tattam, a distinguished oriental scholar, succeeded with some difficulty in persuading the monks of the Valley of the Ascetics to part with a portion of the Mss. buried in their cellars. On a subsequent visit they yielded up the remainder. The whole were then transferred to the British Museum (*Quar. Rev.* vol. lxxvii. p. 39, Dec. 1845). Among these treasures were found two very complete Ms. versions in Syriac of three of the Ignatian epistles; those, namely, addressed to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. Some years before this a Syriac version of an ancient document, entitled "Martyrdom of St. Ignatius," had been found among the collection of Mss. of Mr. Rich, English Consul at Bagdad, then lately purchased for the British Museum. With this "Martyrdom of St. Ignatius" was found a copy of the epistle to the Romans annexed. Thus we became possessed of three Syriac copies of the Epistle to the Romans, and of two copies of those to Polycarp and the Ephesians respectively.

Armed with these valuable materials, two gentlemen of great philological and critical attainments, Mr. Cureton of Oxford, and the Chevalier Bunsen, late Prussian Minister at St. James's, instituted a private collation of these Syriac versions with the Greek recensions already in our possession, and with the several Latin versions of the same documents which had from time to time come to light. Upon this examination, it appeared beyond doubt that both the Greek recensions—the shorter or Eusebian, as well as the longer—as also the several Vulgate versions—were not only very corrupt, but that the greater number of the epistles were absolute fictions—forgeries, probably of the fourth or fifth centuries, intended to bolster up the hierarchical system, then rearing its head on high, by the alleged practice of the Church in the apostolic times, and upon the authority of a personal disciple of the apostles. The Chevalier Bunsen then undertook, with the aid of his fellow-labourer, the task of restoring a correct Greek text of the three epistles thus recovered.

The general result of this important inquiry was, that of the seven epistles of Ignatius enumerated by Eusebius (lib. iii. c. 36), those addressed to the Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, and Smyrnæans, must be rejected as spurious; and that the three remaining, namely, those to Polycarp, the Romans, and the Ephesians, are corrupt and interpolated so as to extend them to twice or three times the length of

the Syriac text. That version is therefore now believed, upon very sufficient grounds, to represent the original Greek text, consequently the only one available as evidence of the ecclesiastical system prevailing in the age of Ignatius.

The reader is referred for further information upon this interesting topic to Mr. Cureton's "Corpus Ignatianum," comprising a complete collection of the Ignatian epistles—genuine, interpolated, and spurious—together with numerous extracts from these documents by ecclesiastical writers down to the tenth century, in Syriac, Greek, and Latin; with an English translation of the Syriac text (London, 1849). The work of the Chev. Bunsen (German) is entitled, "The three genuine and the four spurious Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, with restored and comparative texts." To this volume is appended "Ignatius and his Times: Seven Letters to Dr. Aug. Neander" (Hamb. 1847, 4to).

No one at all acquainted with the character of religious controversy in the fourth and fifth centuries will be greatly surprised at the audacity of documentary forgery and fiction displayed in the instance before us. During the whole of that period Christian literature swarmed with such productions, invented with a view to refute or support heretical opinions, or to lend a helping hand to particular views of government, discipline, or ritual in the Church. Eusebius unsuspectingly adopted the four spurious epistles as genuine; but, from the matter as well as the manner of his quotations, it is probable that his copy was not in the same state as that exhibited in either of our two recensions of the Greek text. In his account of these works he quotes the Epistle to the Romans at some length, and notices the substance of that addressed to Polycarp,—both genuine documents; but he also quotes the spurious letter to the Smyrnæans for a portion of the gospel history. These quotations have, however, no discernible bearing upon the litigated matter now struck out of the "Corpus Ignatianum."

F. Chap. vi. p. 132.

Work of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus.—In the year 1840 a Ms. was found in one of the monastic libraries of Mount Athos, supposed by its editor, Mr. Miller, to be the lost work of Origen "Against all Heresies." This Ms. was afterwards printed at the University Press at Oxford (A.D. 1851), under the title of "Originis Philosophumena, sive omnium Hæresecorum Refutatio," edited by Em. Miller. The critical skill of Chev. Bunsen has produced strong grounds for believing that the Ms. in question does not contain a work of Origen; but that it is in reality a treatise of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus near Rome, a distinguished personage in the Church, who flourished in the first years of the third century. M. Bunsen produces internal as well as external evidence that we have here the well-known but missing work against all heresies (πρὸς πάσας αἱρέσεις) spoken of by Eusebius and Jerome, and by both ascribed to Hippolytus of Portus. Epiphanius, in his

work against the Heresies (Hær. xi. c. 33), cites the name of Hippolytus with those of Clement of Alexandria and Irenæus, as the principal authors who had refuted the Valentinian heresy; a subject which in fact occupies a prominent place in the recovered Ms. The author of the "Chronicon Paschale" of the seventh century quotes a work of Hippolytus bishop of Portus against all heresies (*πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις σύνταγμα*); and the patriarch Photius gives the actual contents of the work in his literary journal entitled "Photii Bibliotheca." As to the internal evidence produced, the Chevalier shows that it must have been composed by a bishop; a circumstance which suits neither to Origen nor to the Roman presbyter Gaius, to whom it has been ascribed among others. Moreover, the writer must have been a member of the Roman church. Now Portus was one of the outlying *παροιχίαι* of that church, and its bishop was a member of the Roman presbytery. In the year 1551 a statue was disinterred in a very ancient cemetery near Rome, described by Prudentius, about the year 1000, as the resting-place of Hippolytus bishop of Portus. This notice the Chevalier deems of itself sufficient to identify the statue as that of Hippolytus; for he is represented sitting upon the episcopal cathedra, and the paschal cycle inscribed upon the chair is a western Roman one. These proofs appear to the learned critic amply sufficient to identify the Ms. as the work of Hippolytus of Portus. At all events, there can be little danger of error in assuming it to contain the work of a Roman writer of the early part of the third century.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

ADVANCES OF ROMAN PREROGATIVE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Advancement of the patriarchate of Constantinople—Religious state of the East—The (so-called) second general council—Canons of Constantinople—Decree in favour of the church of Constantinople—Non-participation of the western churches—Roman vicariate in Illyricum—Siricius bishop—Council of Capua—Origin of the Roman decretals—Movement against clerical marriage—Merit of sacerdotal celibacy—Siricius upon clerical marriage—Clerical celibacy not a law of the Church in the fourth century—Rome and the Syrian schism—Contrasted state of the eastern and western churches—Rome in the cause of Chrysostom—Jerome and Ruffinus—Condemnation of Origen and Ruffinus—Chrysostom and the Egyptian eremites—Chrysostom and Theophilus—Arraignment of Chrysostom—Deposition and restoration of Chrysostom—Second deposition and exile of Chrysostom—Balance of powers in the Church—Appeal of Chrysostom and his party to the western churches—Innocent I. in the appeal—Persecution in the East—Deputation of bishops—Innocent I. renounces communion with Atticus of Constantinople, &c.—Interference of Rome in the cause of Chrysostom—Innocent I. renews the vicariate, &c.—Tone of Innocent I. in his intercourse with the western churches—Innocent on the maternity of the Roman church—The Pelagian heresy—Controversy—Augustine and Jerome against Pelagius—Report of the African council against Pelagius—Zosimus bishop favours the Pelagians—Approves his confession—African decree against foreign appeals—Honorius banishes the Pelagians—Zosimus condemns them—Deference of the provincial clergy for Rome.

Advancement of the patriarchate of Constantinople.

THE advancement of Byzantium to the dignity of the second capital of the empire properly ushers in a new era in the political history of the Roman patriarchate. We have already adverted to the introduction of this powerful member into the church-constituency; we have pointed out the defects in the title of Constantinople to the ecclesiastical eminence to which she had been raised,—her jurisdiction and pri-

vileges; and hinted at the objections or difficulties she was likely to encounter from the more ancient eparchal churches, especially from that of Old Rome.[a]

But, within the half-century from the erection of Constantinople into a patriarchal see to the second general council held there in the year 381, ecclesiastical historians supply us with scarcely any means of estimating the advances of her territorial jurisdictions or prerogatives. Yet it hardly admits of a doubt, that the same gradual process by which Old Rome established her influence in the suburbicarian provinces of Italy, had all along been going on in favour of New Rome within the sphere of her own domestic influence; more especially within the diocese of Thrace, of which she was the political metropolis. The defects of ecclesiastical law, the uncertainty of usages, the irregularity of practice, the constant encroachments, spiritual feuds, and jealousies ever rife among the hierarchy of the East, brought every one who had any complaint to make to Constantinople for redress. The bishop of that see thus became in some sort the habitual referee in such cases; and he was supported by a court always ready to aid in advancing the credit and dignity of the metropolis. With such encouragement, it would have been against all precedent in ecclesiastical history if the patriarch of Constantinople had declined to follow the examples before him, and renounced the advantages his position afforded him gradually to encroach upon the rights of his neighbours and equals. Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, already enjoyed a statutable settlement of their respective ranks in the hierarchy; Constantinople naturally believed herself entitled to a like recognition, with a view to place her in her proper position as second capital of the empire. That position she thought was in fact determined by her magnitude and dignity as the metropolis, and especially as the residence of the court; reasons which in substance correspond with those upon which the pretensions of the older patriarchates were supported.[b]

[a] Book I. c. viii. pp. 193, 194.

[b] The fathers of Nice took, as it seems, this same view of those pretensions. They determined the rank of

In the year 378 the emperor Valens perished in battle with the Goths at Hadrianople. The Arian majority in the East was by this event deprived of the support of the court. Yet the religious state of that division of the empire was in no respect improved by the event which transferred the government into the hands of an orthodox prince. The disputes among the multinominal sects into which the Arian party had split up,[c] had for many years past exercised, or rather overburdened their brains with the hopeless task of accommodating the Nicene confession each to its own peculiar theory of the Divine nature and the incarnation of Christ as revealed in the Christian Scriptures. The schism in the church of Antioch between the ostensibly orthodox parties of Meletius and Paulinus continued with unabated acrimony. With a view to the remedy of these disorders, and, if possible, to reduce the various religious factions to terms of concord, the emperor Theodosius, surnamed the Great, whom Gratian had elevated to the purple in the year 379, summoned a general council of the oriental churches to assemble at Constantinople; a measure by which he hoped to put an end to those dissensions out of which so many annoying disturbances to the peace of the empire had arisen.

Religious state of the East.

The council met at Constantinople, on Friday, 9th of July, in the year 381. One hundred and fifty prelates, exclusively from the dioceses of the eastern division of the empire, obeyed the imperial summons. Upon his first visit to Constantinople, in the preceding year, the emperor Theodosius found that church divided by three parties: the Arians, under their bishop Demophilus; the Macedonians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost; and the orthodox or Trinitarian party, under the direction of Gregory, the expatriated bishop of Nazianzum, who, in consideration

The so-called second general council of Constantinople.

those sees, not upon spiritual grounds, but simply upon usage and custom. There is not the least appearance that they had ever heard, or that they ever thought of, any special privilege attached to a *soi-disant* "cathedra Petri."

See *Conc.* tom. i. p. 325, and the vi^th^ canon there set out.

[c] To wit, Macedonians, Sabellians, Apollinarians, Eunomians, Marcellianians, Photinians, &c.

of the exigencies of the times, had taken upon himself, though without the title or authority of bishop, the government of the Catholic party. Up to that moment the Arians had been in almost undisturbed possession of all the churches of the metropolis for a period of forty years.[d] At the solicitation of Gregory, Theodosius now reinstated the Catholics, and forcibly expelled the Arians, without any serious popular resistance. Gregory, however, pertinaciously declined the honours of the patriarchate, and the church of Constantinople remained destitute of a pastor till the meeting of the council; when, at the instance of the emperor, who was sincerely attached to Gregory, the assembled fathers (much against his inclination) unanimously elected and installed him in the patriarchal chair. The objects proposed by Theodosius to the assembled fathers were, to obtain from them a satisfactory settlement of the terms of the Nicene confession; to give a bishop to the capital; and to make such general regulations as should confirm the peace of the Church, or—more properly—secure the victory to the party he had himself warmly espoused.[e] The first step, therefore, was to elect Gregory; the next, to proceed to the choice of a bishop of Antioch in the place of Meletius, then recently dead. This proposal overthrew the ill-balanced equanimity of the meeting. Gregory recommended them, rather than perpetuate the schism in that church, to allow Paulinus to retain his see for the then probably short term of his natural life; but the clamours of the fanatical Syrian faction overbore the wise counsel of the patriarch. The Illyrian and Egyptian bishops cavilled at his election;[f] and the aged and infirm pontiff gladly seized the opportunity thus afforded him to retire from a post he could no longer retain either with credit to himself or benefit to the cause he so ardently desired to serve.[g] The permission of the em-

[d] *Tillem.* Mém. Eccl. &c. tom. ix. p. 460.

[e] I am much tempted to believe that, in the actual state of the oriental churches, any more liberal measure would not have had the remotest chance of success.

[f] They alleged that he had been uncanonically transferred from the see of Nazianzum to that of Constantinople. *Tillem.* tom. ix. p. 475.

[g] "He believed," says Augustine, "that bishops are bishops only for the service of the people; and that as soon

peror for his retirement was given with regret; but it was obvious that the man who would not swim with the current of faction was unfit to preside over an assembly alternately swayed by interest, party-spirit, or wild fanaticism.[h] Theodosius, or the council—it is difficult to say which—almost at the instant elevated the senator Nectarius, a layman, said by some to have been not even yet baptised, to the throne vacated by the stern censor to whom all parties had taken exception. This irregularity, if really it was so regarded, does not appear to have created any great sensation. Nectarius was the man they wanted; his easy temper and uniform urbanity of demeanour set all parties at their ease. Flavian, the friend and follower of Meletius, was chosen to succeed him in the see of Antioch, against the Eustathian bishop Paulinus; and thus almost the first act of a council convoked to assuage the fever of religious dissension was to perpetuate a schism which had so long and so needlessly afflicted the Christian community. The Macedonian party turned out quite impracticable; no persuasion could induce them to subscribe to the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son; and they seceded from the council to the number of thirty-six prelates, more than ever disposed, as far as in them lay, to impede the restoration of religious peace.

The canons of Constantinople.

The one hundred and fifty fathers who, after this schism, appear to have composed the body of the council, then proceeded with tolerable unanimity to settle the most important points of doctrine submitted for discussion, and to affirm or lay down certain rules of general discipline which call for our special attention. In the first instance, they promulgated an amended edition of the Nicene symbol, in which they express themselves in terms more explicit as to the relation of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son than those of the confession extant under the name of the Nicene creed; and in general adopt a phraseology

as their ministry ceases to be useful, they ought to resign it with joy." *Tillem.* ubi sup. p. 480.

[h] See the testimonies to the state of parties in the East industriously collected by *P. Tillem.* tom. ix., Vie de St. Grég. Nazianz., articles 71-73, pp. 475-486.

more definite and intelligible than that of the older document, yet without swerving from its dogmatic import.[i] But, in our view of these transactions, the iv^th^, v^th^, and vi^th^ canons particularly claim attention. These canons are in fact a republication of those of the Nicene council, relating to the episcopal jurisdiction and the right of ordination.[j] Bishops presiding over dioceses—eparchs or patriarchs—are prohibited from intruding upon churches situate in any civil division out of the limits of their jurisdiction.[k] Ordinations to provincial churches are ordered to take place strictly within the boundaries of the province to which they belong, and to be taken in hand by no bishops but those of that province. It is remarkable that the second canon of Constantinople is simply a corrected restatement of the vi^th^ canon of Nicæa, but that it has reference solely to the eastern world, and takes no notice of any other than the oriental eparchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace.[l] The fathers of this council either had no knowledge of that of Sardica in 347, or they thought fit to ignore it altogether. It would be perhaps the more probable supposition that they did not conceive themselves competent to legislate for the unrepresented churches of the West; consequently that—if indeed they had any acquaintance with the canons of Sardica—they regarded them as applicable only to those churches, and as having no validity beyond the communion of the great Latin patriarch.[m]

[i] See the two creeds, ap. *Harduin.* Conc. tom. i. pp. 311 and 814. The dispute between the professed defenders of the Nicene confession and the heretics turned almost wholly upon the idea conveyed by the term ὑπόστασις (persona). But the fathers of Constantinople in their recension of the Nicene creed do not venture to touch upon that delicate ground. It is to be suspected that much confusion still prevailed in the minds of the most orthodox Athanasians upon that point; nor was it finally settled till long afterwards, by that stringent symbol which passes under the name of the Athanasian creed.

[j] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 323, 325, and 809.

[k] Conf. Book I. c. viii. p. 192. The limits of the eparchia or patriarchate generally, if not always, corresponded with those of the civil diocese in the eastern division of the empire.

[l] *Hard.* Concil. i. p. 809.

[m] My own impression is, that they had no knowledge whatever of those canons. But conf. the account of the Sardican synod, Book I. c. ix. p. 204. It seems inconceivable that the fathers of Constantinople could have thus given the go-by to the three canons imputed to that assembly, giving an extraordinary jurisdiction to Rome, overriding, of course, these reiterated regulations of the eastern churches, if they had deemed them of any weight or authority whatever.

But this council beyond doubt regarded itself as competent to define and declare the privileges of its own members against all the world. The fathers therefore decreed, with the most unsuspecting promptitude, and without any misgiving that they were trenching upon any subsisting right or prerogative of Rome or any other church, that "the bishop of Constantinople should have *privilege of honour*[n] next after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople *is New Rome*." This ordinance not only imports a legislative settlement of the social rank of Constantinople among the hierarchy; but it also conveys a plenary recognition of the patriarchal dignity of the church of New Rome *upon the special ground of her political rank* as the second city of the empire; consequently it affirms her title to the precedence of all the other eparchal churches. And it should be remarked, that this simply *political* eminence was the precise ground upon which, by their vi[th] canon, the fathers of Nicæa determined the respective prerogatives of the three more ancient patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; and it is hardly to be doubted that the canon of Constantinople, passed *in pari materiâ*, contemplated the like relation between the older and the more recently erected patriarchate, and that this canon was in fact simply supplementary to that of Nicæa. This point, however, is made much clearer by the conjunction in which the church of Constantinople is noticed in the synodal letter which, according to custom, the council addressed to Damasus of Rome in the following year (382).[o] In that document, when treating of the general administration of the churches, they recite the vi[th] canon of Nicæa as the rule by which churches of every rank are to be governed: and they report that, in conformity with that rule, Nectarius had been appointed bishop of the capital; that Flavian had been confirmed in possession of that "most ancient and truly apostolical church of Antioch;" and

Decree in favour of the church of Constantinople.

[n] *πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς*—seniority of rank. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 809. In the code of Dionysius Exiguus this canon is no. ii. in the series. In that of Isidore Mercator it is no. v.

[o] *Hard.* Concil. i. p. 823.

that the nomination of Cyril to the see of Jerusalem, "the mother of all churches," had been approved. The intention of the fathers was, therefore, to give to Nectarius a precedency of rank as patriarch, *and to adjudge to him all the powers and prerogatives that might belong to his see by usage, custom, or legitimate grant, upon the same terms and by the same title as those possessed by the elder sees*, in conformity with the rule laid down by the council of Nicæa.[p]

Western churches take no part in the Council of Constantinople.

At the close of their deliberations, the fathers notified the results to the emperor Theodosius in a short letter, to which they appended a schedule of the proceedings they had taken, as they said, "in pursuance of his imperial mandate;"[q] and they requested him to ratify their decisions by the same authority as that by which they had been convoked. It was not, however, till the following year that they forwarded the usual synodal letter to the western churches; but the document appears to have attracted very little notice there. Neither Damasus of Rome, nor any other western prelate, took either share or interest in the proceedings. Historians know of no specific act of recognition on their part; neither was it until this age had long passed away that any serious question arose between the East and the West as to the integral validity of the canons of Constantinople.

Roman vicariate in Illyricum Orientale.

At the close of the episcopate of Damasus (384) the equilibrium of the religious mind in the West was not wholly restored. The supporters of his rival Ursinus, the Donatist schismatics, and the implacable puritans of the Luciferian school, still continued to disturb the state-spiritual, and to give

[p] It will appear in the sequel that this was the precise view of the question taken by the great council of Chalcedon. *Baronius*, indeed, endeavours to show that this canon of Constantinople is a forgery (*commentitius*), chiefly upon the grounds that it is not mentioned by certain contemporary writers, and that it has always been rejected by Rome (Ann. Eccles. ann. 381, § 35). But his more judicious commentator Pagi corrects him; and shows that it was perfectly well known to, and treated as genuine by, the most esteemed ecclesiastical historians of that and the subsequent age; and that it is extant in every codex of the most ancient as well as of the more recent times. See Note ad loc. Baron. no. viii.

[q] κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας.

trouble to the civil government. Notwithstanding the interposition of two councils, held at Rome and at Aquileia, and the penalties there denounced against Ursinus and his accomplices, the bishops of Parma and Puteoli,[r] the successor of Damasus found himself hampered by the same opposition. But religious differences in the West never assumed the inveterate character which at all times distinguished oriental controversy; and the cordial support of the government always promised a speedy restoration of unanimity and peace, bringing with it, for the most part, an increase of strength and influence to the Roman church. Damasus, though apparently indifferent to the progress of affairs in the East, was vigilant enough in maintaining the prerogatives of the Roman patriarchate. When the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II. shared the empire with Theodosius I. (A.D. 379) the great præfecture of Illyricum Orientale,[s] of which the city of Thessalonica was the capital, was assigned to the eastern emperor. But the church of Rome had probably for a long time past claimed or exercised a patriarchal superintendence over this division of the empire, and Damasus declined to admit any diminution of his spiritual authority arising out of a mere political change not grounded upon any ecclesiastical reason. He therefore guarded his position by appointing Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, and metropolitan of the præfecture, his representative or vicar for the diocese of Illyricum Orientale. This was the first of a series of similar appointments continued through this and the subsequent pontificates: but the name or title conferred gives us no clue to the powers implied in it; and the incident itself is important chiefly because it brings under our notice for the first time an office afterwards found very serviceable for the advancement of the interests of Rome in both divisions of the empire.[t]

[r] The African Donatists Restitutus and Claudianus are included in this sentence. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 840, 841.

[s] This præfecture comprised the provinces of Greece, Epirus, Crete, Prævalitana, Dacia, Dardania, and Mœsia Prima; i.e. the whole of the modern sultanate of Turkey in Europe, excepting Roumelia and Bulgaria (Thrace), which had always belonged to the eastern division.

[t] Though I find no notice of this appointment in Baronius or the Centuri-

Bishop Damasus died in the month of December 384; and was succeeded by a Roman parochial priest named Siricius.[u] The first noticeable act of the new pontificate touches upon the affairs of the East. Meletius, whom the majority of the eastern churches (the Egyptian excepted) acknowledged as the legitimate patriarch of Antioch, died in the year 381, either while present at, or at least during, the session of the general council of Constantinople in that year. It has been already noticed that the fathers immediately nominated Flavian, a person of great reputation in the church, to succeed him. His surviving rival, Paulinus, retired to Rome, and died there in the year 388; but before his death, he, with the assent of his party, and probably that of his Roman protectors, designated a priest named Evagrius to the office he was about to vacate.[v] The emperor Theodosius, shocked and perplexed by these never-ending dissensions and schisms, summoned the competitors before a synod to be held at Capua in the year 390. The council met at the appointed time: Evagrius of course appeared, and—apparently as a matter of course—took his seat among the judges in his own cause. But, quite as much as a matter of course, Flavian declined the tribunal; insisting, no doubt, both upon the strength of his title,[w] and the manifest partiality of the tribunal appointed to try it. Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, who presided, advised a reference of the inquiry to Theophilus bishop of Alexandria and an Egyptian synod. But Flavian, whose objections to such a tribunal were quite as strong as to that of Capua, declined to adopt it. The emperor, finding his

Siricius bishop of Rome.

Council of Capua.

ators, under Damasus, yet that the vicariate was *eo nomine* introduced by him will, I think, appear in the sequel. *Bower* (H. of the Popes, vol. i. p. 277), in reporting it, supports himself upon the authority of the "Roman Collections" of the Jesuit father Holstenius, the learned librarian of the Vatican. Conf. *Pagi* ad Baron. Ann. 418, nos. 75, 76.

[u] *Ciacone* (Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 266) calls him "Cardinal of St. Prudentia, by the title of the Pastor." But the title of "cardinal" was not known in Rome, or any other church, till many ages afterwards. This unworthy trick is frequently played off by the Roman writers, with a view to connect the more modern paraphernalia of their church with primitive antiquity.

[v] *Theodoret*, lib. v. c. 23.

[w] As the nominee of an œcumenical council. See p. 255 of this chapter.

efforts to bring Flavian to compliance to have failed, abandoned all further interference. The latter continued at the head of his party at Antioch; and the bishops of the West, wisely declining to countenance a schism involving no error of doctrine, drew the orthodox bishops of the East, belonging to both parties indifferently, into their communion, and abandoned the factious Antiochians to their fate.[x]

Origin of decretals.

But for two circumstances connected with this pontificate, there would be little to attract our notice. The *first* of these is, that with Siricius commences the series of documents known to the later canonists by the designation of "decretals;" a name applied to the letters-pastoral and replies of the bishops of Rome, in imitation of the imperial decrees in temporal matters. Previous to this epoch very few genuine letters, or other official documents emanating from the reputed chair of Peter, have been preserved. And it may be here noticed, that the later compilation, or rather series of forgeries, which fills up the gap between the death of Clement and the accession of Siricius—a period of nearly three centuries—is now almost universally abandoned as a manifest fabrication. The once-celebrated collection of decretals passing under the name of Isidore Mercator, or Peccator, has been condemned by the majority of Christian critics and divines of every denomination as a fraud upon common sense; while the Roman section, admitting the fiction, still in substance maintains it as a genuine transcript of ancient church-government, discipline, and ritual, and to this day observes it as part and parcel of the canon law.[y] This circumstance, though connected with the pontificate of Siricius solely in its bearing upon the subsequent history of the papacy, could not be passed over without notice.

The *second* circumstance which claims attention relates to the important question of *clerical celibacy*, now,

[x] *Baron.* Ann. 389, § 64 et sqq.; *Theodoret.* II. E. lib. v. c. 23; *Bower*, i. p. 257.

[y] The apocryphal code of Isidore Mercator will (if this work be continued) be referred to hereafter at length, as the substratum of Roman canon law.

Movement against clerical matrimony.

as far as we know, for the first time brought publicly and judicially under the notice of the Roman chair as an article of discipline. The practice of clerical celibacy, as established in the Latin church, is a departure from the Mosaic ordinance,[z] the more remarkable, as it stands in contrast with the general anxiety displayed by the Christian priesthood to ground itself upon the principle of the Levitical discipline. Under that dispensation the ordinances relating to sacerdotal marriage were of a ceremonial character, and wholly unconnected with the idea of any inherent impurity in connubial intercourse. Yet there is evidence that from the remotest ages an opinion existed in the eastern world that matrimony was inconsistent with perfect spirituality, if not a connection in itself contaminating and unholy.[a] This view weighed heavily upon the depressed and contemplative spirit of the early Christian churches. The more rigid dogmatists of this and the preceding ages hardly forbear from lamenting the natural necessity of matrimony; they regard it either as an evil in itself, or as bordering so closely upon sin, that, although lawful to the generality, it was inconsistent with the condition of a servant of the altar, who, by virtue of his office, was bound to set an example of perfect holiness and purity. Yet it is from the western extremity of the Christian world that the first movement against the marriage of the clergy appears to have proceeded. As early as the year 313, the Spanish council of Illiberis (Elvira) directed that bishops, priests, and deacons, and all other persons having clerical function, should "abstain from wives and the begetting of children."[b] The councils of Ancyra and Neocæsarea, both believed to have been held in the year 314, take up the same subject. The former decreed that if the candidate for the diaconate—the first step towards the priesthood—should at the time of his ordination give notice to the bishop that he intended to marry, the latter

[z] *Lev.* xxi. 7, 13, 14, 15.

[a] May we not connect this opinion with the great struggle of the religious mind in man to emancipate itself from the trammels of sense, and to approach the Deity by that passionless sublimation which has always been regarded as His most distinguishing attribute?

[b] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 253, can. 33.

might license him so to do; but if without such license he accepted orders, and afterwards married, he should renounce the ministry.[c] The synod of Neocæsarea determined that any presbyter who married a wife should be simply deposed; but that if he committed fornication or adultery he should be excommunicated, and be subjected to lay penance.[d] The same question was afterwards raised at the great council of Nicæa; but Paphnutius, an Egyptian confessor, protested strongly against the prohibition, alleging that it would impose a burden upon the clergy too heavy to be borne, and broadly maintaining that marriage was in itself chastity.[e] But though for many ages to come no positive restrictions were imposed upon the priesthood by any general council, yet it is apparent that in the fourth century the prejudice against clerical marriage was very widely diffused. It is even probable that in several churches of the East it had become an established practice not to admit married men to the ministry; and in others it was usual to require from those priests who were already married before ordination a pledge to discontinue intercourse with their wives, though without the revolting formality of repudiation.[f]

Merits of sacerdotal celibacy.

A principal cause of this tendency of the religious mind is to be sought in the lofty opinion entertained of the merit of virginity. This state of life was believed to be incumbent upon all who aspired after spiritual perfection; but especially so upon the ministers of the altar, who, marching in the van of

[c] Conc. Ancyr. can. ix.,—*Hard.* Conc. tom. i. p. 275.

[d] Conc. Neocæs. can. i.,—*ibid.* p. 281.

[e] *Socrat.* II. E. lib. i. c. viii.; *Sozom.* H. E. lib. i. c. xxii. *Baronius* (Ann. Eccles. ann. 325, § 149), and other ultramontane doctors, endeavour to throw discredit upon this anecdote; but it rests not only upon the testimony of Socrates and Sozomen, but upon that of Epiphanius, an earlier writer than either, and after them upon that of Nicephorus and Cassiodorius. Bish. *Hall's* Works, vol. ix. p. 147.

[f] *Socrat.* II. E. lib. ii. c. xliii., lib. v. cc. xxii. xxiii. Thus Heliodorus, a Thessalian bishop, made celibacy compulsory upon his clergy; and from him the practice appears to have been adopted by many of the Greek and Macedonian churches. But elsewhere it was occasionally disapproved; thus, a certain Eustathius is said to have been condemned by the synod of Gangra (circ. A.D. 340) for "forbidding to marry," separating those who were already married, prohibiting prayer to be made in the houses of married priests, and refusing the sacraments to a priest who retained the wife he had married before ordination.

the spiritual host, ought to be free from all the ties and solicitudes of domestic life, interfering,—as such cares must always do,—with the perilous and absorbing duties they had to perform; they, it was thought, who dedicated themselves to the service of Him whose essence was purity, ought to abstain from all gratifications which might carry with them the faintest taint of impurity.[g] The mediatorial character of the priesthood stepped in to the aid of these impressions. "If," says Jerome, "even the faithful among laymen cannot pray effectually but in a state of abstinence, though he pray but now and then, how much more ought the priest and the deacon to be *always chaste*, seeing that *they are always engaged in prayer for the laity*."[h] Thus, though towards the close of the fourth century restrictions upon sacerdotal marriage had not been embodied in any general act of church-legislation, yet the current of public opinion was already flowing strongly in that direction.[i] It is singular that this prepossession should have always found more favour in the West than in the East, and that it should have led to more absolute results in the former than in the latter section of the Church-catholic. Yet in both it was so powerful as necessarily to lead to positive ordinances, with a view to reconcile, as far as possible, the marriage of priests with that technical or functional purity which was deemed essential to the sacerdotal character.[j]

[g] Conf. *Euseb.* Demonst. Evang. c. ix.

[h] *Hieronym.* expos. ad 1 Tim. c. iii. In his insane invective against Vigilantius of Calahorra, for insisting upon the connubial rights of the clergy—"semen pessimum," &c.—he asserts that, inasmuch as the apostles were *all either virgins or continent after marriage* (?), so it was the custom to elect as bishops, priests, and deacons, only such persons as lived in a state of virginity, or such as after ordination became continent. *Hieron.* adv. Vigil. ap. *Baron.* Ann. 406, § 46. Conf. *Cent. Magdeb.* cent. iv. p. 487. And thus Jovinian was convicted by Augustine and Jerome of heresy because he imputed Manichæism to the orthodox for preferring a state of virginity to that of matrimony. *Aug.* in Jov. lib. i. c. ii.; *id.* ad Bonos. lib. ii. c. ii.; *Hieron.* Ep. 50.

[i] Some of the holiest of the fathers of this age were notoriously married men. Thus, St. Hilary of Poictiers, who flourished A.D. 350 to 368, was married. So also the elder St. Gregory of Nazianzum, and his still more celebrated son, the younger Gregory. The latter never appears to have suspected that there was any thing irregular in his birth, though it occurred after his father's consecration as bishop. In fact, the elder Gregory had another son and a daughter born to him afterwards. *Hall's* Works, vol. ix. p. 154.

[j] *Ambrose* (Epp. lib. x. ep. 84, as quoted by the *Cent. Magd.* cent. iv. p. 663) says that the Nicene fathers had

Bishop Siricius of Rome sincerely concurred with Ambrose, Jerome, Epiphanius, Augustine, and most of the leading divines of his age, in the prevalent predilection for celibacy, and admiration for the virgin state. Ambrose distinguished his zeal in the cause by his hearty participation in the condemnation of Jovinian and his followers for maintaining the "shocking proposition that a virgin was no better than a married woman," but more especially for their "blasphemous audacity" in denying the perpetual virginity of the mother of Christ.[k] At an early period of his pontificate Siricius was consulted by Hymerius, bishop of Tarragona, upon certain questions of discipline, and the measures necessary for the correction of the abuses which had crept into the Spanish churches. The reply of the pontiff was drawn up in a tone which denotes a change in the spirit of the intercourse between Rome and the western churches. Though Siricius did not formally affect the character of a monarch or legislator, his letter bears the mark and impress of a decree of conclusive authority upon the points it embraces. After dogmatically determining certain matters of discipline,[l] he denies the validity of sacerdotal marriage: he peremptorily repudiates the plea derived from the Levitical ordinance in that particular: he maintains that in the old dispensation, as in the new, perfect purity is imputed to the priest in virtue of his office; and he expounds the permission to marry given to the Jewish priesthood as wholly unconnected with the sacerdotal character, and granted solely with a view to the perpetuation of the sacerdotal race; and this, he asserts, is clear from the ordinance which restricts the enjoyment of connubial intercourse to the seasons in which the priest is not engaged in the service

Siricius upon clerical matrimony.

resolved that no one should continue a priest who had contracted a second marriage. But we find no such ordinance in any extant edition of that council. Probably Ambrose alludes to the compromise said to have been come to upon the proposition of Paphnutius.

[k] Conf. Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. canm. iii. iv. xxi. and xxxv. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 862.

[l] He prohibits, *inter alia*, the rebaptism of converted heretics, or the performance of that rite at any seasons of the year but those of Easter and Pentecost; no apostate is to be allowed to remain in the Church; no person to be allowed to marry one betrothed to another.

of the altar: but this reason does not apply to the Christian priest, for *his* duty never ceases; in his case the original law of perfect purity becomes at once absolute and perpetual; and therefore every priest who, after ordination to the diaconate or the priesthood, marries a woman, be she widow or virgin, pollutes himself, and desecrates the altar he serves.[m]

Clerical celibacy not a general law of the Church in the fourth century.

It is to be noticed, that the pontiff does not in this rescript decide what was to be done with the person who should be already married at the time of ordination, nor does he deny his qualification for the ministry. It is still more remarkable, that when bishop Siricius was consulted by the Illyrian churches respecting one Bonosus, a Dacian prelate, who, besides asserting the sanctity of sacerdotal marriage, maintained the irreverent opinion that after the birth of Christ his mother had other children, he declined to interfere. The case had been, it seems, before the council assembled at Capua in 389, and the cause of Bonosus had been referred by that assembly to the provincial synod of his diocese. Siricius, upon this ground, declared that he had no jurisdiction over the matter of complaint.[n] Yet if sacerdotal celibacy had been regarded as a law of the Church, neither he nor the council could have had any difficulty in condemning the opinions of Bonosus without further inquiry. It may therefore be presumed that no law to that effect had as yet obtained the sanction of the Church-catholic; and that, where it was binding, it was so only in virtue of the peculiar discipline of the particular church which had spontaneously adopted it.

Reverting from this apparent digression[o] to the re-

[m] Ep. Siric. ad Hymer. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 840 et sqq.

[n] *Baron.* Ann. 389, §§ 72, 73, with Pagi's note. Conf. *Cent. Magd.* cent. iv. p. 658. See also *Bower*, vol. i. p. 265. The letter of Siricius is inserted in *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 859.

[o] The subject of clerical celibacy is so closely connected with the progress of the power of Rome, that the delineation would be incomplete without reference to the opinions and sentiments to which the ultimate practice of that church must be referred back. It is therefore more convenient to trace them in their true chronological order than hereafter to have to fetch up the past history when (certainly not in this

lations subsisting in the pontificate of Siricius between the western and the eastern churches, it is to be noted, that the imprudence—to say the least of it—committed by the council of Capua in 389 brought with it its own punishment. That council had, as already observed, elected Evagrius as successor to Paulinus in the see of Antioch during the lifetime of the equally orthodox Meletius; thereby perpetuating the schism, without the remotest prospect of installing their nominee in the episcopal chair of that city. Flavian, now without a rival capable of disturbing his possession; with a title based upon the decree of an œcumenical council, and in full communion with the see of Constantinople, had nothing to fear from the hostility of Rome or Capua. Chrysostom, who ascended the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in the year 397, succeeded in reconciling Flavian with Theophilus of Alexandria and his Egyptian opponents; an event which deprived Rome of the only support in the East that might have enabled her to aspire to the character of arbitress of the controversy in which she had hitherto striven to appear. Neither the pontiff nor his council took any step to supply the place of Evagrius; and they thus found themselves, without any plausible ground, in open schism with the reigning patriarch of Syria. Both Siricius and his friend Ambrose of Milan, the president of the late council of Capua, keenly felt the difficulty of their position. They dreaded the loss of credit to which an unconditional abandonment of the position they had assumed must expose them.[p] In the awkward dilemma of either perpetuating the schism and backing up a hopeless cause, or of yielding implicitly to the decision of the whole eastern Church against them, Chrysostom, the excellent patriarch of Constantinople, came to their aid. In the spirit of his Master, he prevailed upon Flavian to ask as a favour that which he was

Rome and the Syrian schism.

volume) the course of the narrative may require it. When that occurs, the references to the passages containing the requisite information will be carefully noted.

[p] A letter from Ambrose to Theophilus of Alexandria expresses this feeling very strongly. Quoting *Gal.* ii. 18, he says, "Si enim quæ ædificavi destruo, prævaricatorem meipsum constituo; ac si quæ destruxi iterum ædificem." Ep. 78.

entitled to demand as a right. A deputation was appointed to wait upon the bishop of Rome civilly to request the restoration of communion, and the future favour of his church. Siricius and the western prelates gladly embraced the opening thus afforded of a safe and honourable retreat from a false position; Flavian was duly recognised as legitimate patriarch, and Rome was allowed to register in her book of precedents the substitution of her own fiat for the deliberate act of a general council—an incident not likely to be forgotten in dealing with the decisions of future synods.[q]

Contrasted condition of the western and eastern churches.

With each succeeding year of the period now under review, the relative position of the churches of Rome and Constantinople increases in interest and importance. The western churches had by this time outlived the Arian agitation, and the dissensions which sprang out of them among the orthodox opponents of that heresy; and there was at least a suspension of that captious and perplexing dogmatism which corrupted the sources, or diverted the stream, of practical Christianity in the East. A return to the spirit of mutual deference was gradually calling forth among the prelates of the West a capacity for combined action, of which few traces are observable in the eastern division of Christendom. Rome was establishing step by step that regularity and uniformity of intercourse with the churches subject to her patriarchal influence which might best serve as a foundation for her

[q] *Theodoret.* lib. v. c. xxiii.; *Sozom.* lib. viii. c. iii. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 398, §§ 79, 80, cum not. Pagi. The supremacy of the Petrine see over general councils rests upon precedents of this character. An act simply designed to effectuate the restoration of peace and union in the Church-catholic is not in the nature of a judicial reference upon a point of litigation. Yet it may easily be made to appear in that light where the advantage of rank and station preponderates on one side. But a true precedent is an act done in the exercise of a preexisting right, and must correspond and be commensurate with the right claimed under it. Rome asserts that by virtue of the chair of Peter she has a right to reverse, reject, or modify the decisions of a general council of the Church; and in proof of that right alleges that once upon a time a patriarch of Antioch, elected or seated by the authority of a general council, but rejected by Rome, humbly requested to be restored to her communion. Does such a precedent correspond, or is it commensurate with the right claimed under it? Does it amount, in any sense, to an acknowledgment of such a right? This is, however, a fair specimen of the precedents alleged by the see of Rome for the most extravagant of her claims.

autocratic pretensions, and foster in her own bosom that constitutional yearning for political power which lurks in the bosom of every hierarchical scheme.

In all these respects the aspect of the eastern churches presents an extraordinary contrast. The history of the admirable John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, exposes at once the feebleness of the antagonism which the Roman pontiff had to encounter in the East, and the causes of the powerful influence he contrived to maintain in that quarter by the aid of the never-ending factions and divisions, which neutralised both the religious and political authority of the oriental Church and her presiding bishop.

Rome in the cause of Chrysostom; Jerome and Ruffinus.

The origin of the differences which gave occasion for Roman interference in the cause of Chrysostom lies at some distance from the high-road of pontifical history. The ascetic Jerome of Jerusalem, canonised for his zeal and piety, admired for his learning and genius, and feared for his ill-conditioned and vituperative humour, engaged in a bitter quarrel with Ruffinus, a Latin doctor, who had translated a treatise of the renowned Origen, entitled *Peri Archon*, in which the atrabilious eremite detected more than one deadly heresy.[r] The cause of this sudden access of wrath is not very apparent. Jerome himself had in early life entertained a high respect for the genius and learning of Origen, and had in his own works adopted some of his opinions. But upon the appearance of the version of Ruffinus he at once pronounced Origen a heretic, and included his translator in the same condemnation.[s]

[r] Origen is charged, among other errors, with maintaining the three following: 1. he denied the resurrection of the perishable mortal body—in which he is clearly borne out by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv.; 2. he maintained the pre-existence of the human soul, and its migration from body to body, till by gradual purification it should be raised to the angelic state; and 3. as a natural consequence, he denied the eternity of hell torments.

[s] The first attack upon Ruffinus was made by the pious Roman matron Marcella, at that time the spiritual favourite of Jerome. But the no less conspicuous Lady Melania, who had once stood in the like spiritual relationship to Jerome, was now the devoted friend of Ruffinus. These exchanges seem in some inexplicable manner to have exasperated the feelings and affected the temper of the combatants. Marcella is said to have been one of the most learned divines of her age.

Condemnation of Origen and Ruffinus in the East.

While this controversy was in progress bishop Siricius died,[t] and was succeeded by the Roman presbyter Anastasius. To him the zealous doctor applied to procure the condemnation of the heresies of Origen and their patron Ruffinus. The latter was thereupon summoned to Rome to give an account of the opinions imputed to him. But Anastasius hesitated to pronounce upon them; and Jerome, impatient of delay, proceeded to sow the seeds of a controversy which he perceived would not so kindly germinate in the West, in that hotbed of polemics the adjacent churches of the East. To that end, he resorted to the hot-headed and imperious patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria. A council of the Egyptian diocese was convoked, the writings of Origen were pronounced to be heretical, and condemnation passed against the deceased heresiarch and his living advocates. Epiphanius, the aged metropolitan of Cyprus, and with him many oriental prelates, zealously adopted the opinion of the Egyptian church; but failing to bring round Chrysostom and John of Jerusalem to their way of thinking, they renounced communion with both, and thus introduced a more bitter and enduring leaven of strife and discord than that from which the eastern churches had so recently succeeded in escaping.[u]

Chrysostom and the eremites of Egypt.

There was, in truth, no little difficulty in procuring any general condemnation of a writer who up to this time had enjoyed the respect and admiration of Christendom—one who had found champions and admirers among the profoundest scholars and fathers of the Church.[v] Anastasius of Rome joined the movement against the Origenists somewhat tardily and reluctantly; but the vehement and imperious Theophilus flung himself with his wonted impetuosity upon all who declined to concur in his theolo-

[t] On the 14th March 398. See *Baron.* and *Ciacone.*

[u] See the Apol. of *Ruffinus* ad Anastas.,—*Hieron.* adv. Ruffin. cc. vi. vii.; Epp. *Hieron.* 67, 70, 71, 73, 78; *Baron.* Ann. 398, § 3, 4; *id.* ann. 400, § 22, 23, 34; *id* ann. 401, § 4; *id.* ann. 402, § 6. Conf. *Fleury*, II. E. tom. v. p. 120.

[v] Such as Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Basil of Cæsarea. *Soc.* II. E. lib. iv. c. xxvi.

gical views, or dared to set bounds to his despotic dogmatism. But even within his own diocese a numerous body of the recluses of the mountain and the desert stood forth stoutly in defence of Origen. Against these antagonists Theophilus discharged the full quiver of his wrath; and with the aid of a body of soldiers, lent to him by his friend the præfect of Egypt, he drove them from their retreat, burned their books, and destroyed their cells. In this their tribulation about fifty of the number retired into Palestine; but finding themselves there within the reach of their adversary, they wandered on to Constantinople, and laid their grievances before Chrysostom. The patriarch listened patiently to their complaints, but delayed taking any steps for their relief until he should obtain such explanations from Theophilus himself as should enable him to form a more mature judgment of the merits of the case.

Chrysostom and Theophilus.

The exiled eremites, despairing of redress from the spiritual chief, laid their petition before the emperor Arcadius. The patriarch Theophilus and his ally Epiphanius of Cyprus were summoned to Constantinople to render an account of the violent course pursued against the exiles; and a synod of the metropolitan diocese was convoked to take cognisance of the cause. Whether the patriarch Chrysostom took any and what part in a proceeding so obviously uncanonical and irregular[w] we are not informed; but, at all events, it is certain that he had inspired Theophilus with a passionate and malignant animosity, which determined him to leave no means, fair or foul, untried to accomplish the ruin of Chrysostom. After some delay he obeyed the imperial mandate; and, trusting in his accurate knowledge of the state of parties in the court and church of Constantinople, he boldly presented himself before the emperor, not as the defendant in the cause, but as the prosecutor of his opponent.[x]

Some time before this the empress Eudoxia, the pro-

[w] Such a synod for such a purpose was in the very teeth of the v^th canon of Nicæa and the first of Constantinople.

[x] Ep. *Chrysos.* ad Innocent. I. ap. *Baron.* Ann. 404, §§ 25, 26.

Arraignment of Chrysostom.

fligate consort of the feeble Arcadius, had taken the bitterest offence at Chrysostom's public animadversions upon the incontinence and voluptuousness of the imperial court, in which she detected allusions to her own private vices. Again, a large party among the clergy of the metropolis was known to resent the reforms introduced by the patriarch, and his censures upon their irregular lives. But besides these causes of complaint, the adjoining dioceses of Pontus and Asia still yielded a reluctant obedience to the novel jurisdiction which the prelates of Constantinople had acquired within those provinces. This mass of combustibles Theophilus, on his arrival, found ready laid up for his use. The train was prepared, and he waited only for a favourable opportunity to apply the torch. Eudoxia, inflamed by the daily delations of the enemies of Chrysostom, procured from the emperor an order for the convocation of a synod to inquire into alleged delinquencies of the patriarch in the discharge of his duties. A careful selection of foreign or discontented prelates was made for this purpose. Articles of charge were exhibited, and the patriarch was cited to appear and answer to the matters objected against him. The latter, however, denied the competency of such a tribunal; he appealed to the Nicene canons,[y] and protested —somewhat inconsistently—that Theophilus himself was at least as fully responsible to the tribunal over which he (Chrysostom) presided for inquiring into the case of the Egyptian exiles, as the patriarch could be to that now set on foot—not for his trial but—for his condemnation and ruin. But he declared that, provided his notorious enemies were excluded from the synod as his judges, he would not shrink from the inquiry.

Condemnation and restoration of Chrysostom.

But the pleas of the patriarch were overruled; and he finally declined to appear before them. Foiled in every attempt either to lure or to intimidate him into their toils, the court faction adjourned to a village called "the Oak," not far from Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and proceeded with little or no form to find him guilty, and to

[y] Cann. v. and vi., see Book I. c. viii. p. 191.

depose him. The emperor Arcadius confirmed the sentence; and Chrysostom, yielding to the tempest, retired a short distance from the capital. But on the very night of his expulsion accident and superstition concurred to reverse the decision of the council. A violent earthquake shook the capital and the palace to their foundations; the friends of Chrysostom whispered abroad that the calamity was a clear manifestation of the divine wrath against the unjust condemnation of the saintly patriarch. The court was alarmed, the people clamoured, the city was in an uproar from end to end; and on the morning following his deposition Chrysostom was borne back upon the shoulders of the people, and triumphantly reseated in the patriarchal chair. His intimidated adversaries retired from the contest for the moment, but without renouncing their plans for his future ruin.

Exile of Chrysostom.

An opportunity for the accomplishment of their purpose could not be long in arriving. The spirit of Chrysostom, incapable of a compromise with sin, continued to thunder forth from his pulpit his most eloquent censures against the vices of court, clergy, and people indifferently; and this, not without significant allusion to those of the empress and her dissolute minions. Theophilus and his party took care that these allusions should be reported in the quarters where they would be likely to produce the utmost exasperation; and thus it was brought about that within two months after his restoration Chrysostom was suddenly cited before an assembly of court-prelates to answer for the crime of re-ascending the patriarchal throne in defiance of a sentence of deposition pronounced against him by a competent tribunal—such sentence remaining unrepealed and in full force and effect. On this, as on the prior occasion, the patriarch declined the jurisdiction as altogether uncanonical and irregular,[z] and was thereupon condemned and deposed by default. On this occasion his enemies made sure of their prey; a band of soldiers was employed to

[z] It was founded upon a revived canon of the schismatical council of Antioch, A.D. 341, to prevent the reinstatement of Athanasius. See note of *Pagi* ad Baron. Ann. 341, §§ 20 and 24. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 202.

carry the sentence into execution, and the infirm patriarch was carried away to a desolate and unhealthy place of exile at Cucusus in Armenia.

Balance of power in the Church.

The conduct of the parties to this disgraceful transaction seems to have been prompted by a simple spirit of mischief. Pride, vanity, hypocrisy, malice, had wrought a deed of as consummate folly, inconsistency and injustice, as if it had been expressly designed to bring the most profound disgrace on the eastern hierarchy. The malignant vanity and obstinacy of metaphysical speculation on religious subjects, intense as it is, will hardly account for the deep depravity of these proceedings. Theophilus and his party may indeed have hated Chrysostom for his alleged patronage of the imputed heresies of the Origenists; but the creeping fraud, the impudent illegality, the cordial alliance with the worthless and the depraved to which they condescended for the accomplishment of their purpose, must convince us that a body so enfeebled by moral rottenness could afford no insuperable resistance to any antagonistic power endowed with that nobler vitality which religious motives, however modified by human infirmities, invariably inspire. It must have been apparent to any capable observer of that age, that with such a state of moral debility infecting one whole moiety of the church-constituency, no proper balance of spiritual powers could be maintained; and when the history of this and the subsequent age shall have brought the elements of Roman policy more fully under our view, we shall have less difficulty in unravelling the mystery of the marvellous success which attended the latter.

Chrysostom and his party appeal to the western churches.

In compliance with the comity of ecclesiastical intercourse, Theophilus as president of the council reported to the bishop of Rome the result of their deliberations; but without entering into the grounds of the decision against Chrysostom. While these things were being done at Constantinople, bishop Anastasius of Rome had died;[a] and on the 8th

[a] According to *Ciacone*, Vit. Anast. i. p. 275, Anastasius governed the Roman church four years one month and thirteen days.

May 402, the deacon Innocentius of Albano was elected to succeed him. Some time after his accession, a deputation of four bishops from among the friends of Chrysostom arrived in Rome charged with three letters: the first from the exiled patriarch himself, addressed to Innocent and to the metropolitans Venerius of Milan and Chromatius of Aquileia;[b] the second from a council of forty oriental bishops who adhered to Chrysostom; and a third from the faithful clergy of the church of Constantinople. In the first, Chrysostom entered pretty fully into the history of his case, and concluded with an eloquent appeal to the justice of his cause and the sympathy of the western churches. "Write, I beseech you," he says, "and publish to the world your solemn sense of the iniquity of these proceedings—proclaim it that what was done was done behind our backs—that we never declined a lawful tribunal; but that this was a lawless work, and therefore altogether void: bring, I beseech you, the perpetrators of this deed to justice by the censures of your churches—insist that we be either restored to our sees, or that we be brought to a fair trial—let my adversaries reduce their charges to writing—let them stand forth in defence of them before a legal and an impartial tribunal;[c] and there will we meet them without flinching and prove our innocence before the world. Make, I implore you, this our request known to the bishops of your provinces; that thus both we and the universal Church may rejoice, and receive our reward from that God who is the author and giver of peace to His Church."[d]

Innocent I. in the appeal of the exiles.

Immediately after the abduction of Chrysostom, Eudoxia completed her work of iniquity by the elevation of Arsacius, an aged

[b] *Baronius* (A. 404, § 35) desires it to be understood that there were four or five letters, and that the letter to Innocent was addressed to himself alone. I think that the address of all three was one and the same. See *Bower*, vol. i. p. 294, and *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 233.

[c] It should be remarked, that by the existing law of the Church no such tribunal existed for the trial of a patriarch—it may be doubted even of a metropolitan. Chrysostom must therefore be understood to have appealed to an œcumenical council, unless he meant to signify his submission to any tribunal having no share or interest in the proceedings he complained of. I think this was his real intention.

[d] See the letter at length, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 404, § 31.

hanger-on of the court, to the patriarchal throne. The new prelate sent the usual letters of communion to Innocent of Rome, and appended to them a garbled statement of the trial and deposition of his predecessor. These letters arrived too late to take the pontiff by surprise. Innocent was already in possession of Chrysostom's case, and he declined to recognise the substitution of Arsacius until he should be more fully informed of the merits of the cause by an independent tribunal, composed—as he declared it ought to be—of prelates of both divisions of the empire, according to the terms and in strict conformity with the Nicene canons, the only law applicable to the case known to and acknowledged by the church of Rome.[e]

Persecution in the East.

Meanwhile the East resounded with clamour against the outrages perpetrated upon the saintly patriarch and his expatriated friends. Those bishops of his party who were fortunate enough to escape the snares of the court took refuge at Rome, and inflamed the zeal of the West by their indignant descriptions of the iniquities of the court and court-clergy of Constantinople. Exasperated by the passive resistance of the disciples of Chrysostom in that city, and in most other considerable churches of the East, the empress Eudoxia indulged her vindictive passions by an active persecution of all who declined communion with the intrusive patriarch. Fines, confiscations, tortures, and exile were inflicted without mercy to extort conformity with the mandate of the court. These odious measures drove great numbers both of the clergy and laity to abandon the dominions of Arcadius, and to take refuge within the territory of the West.[f] The liberal policy of Innocent opened an asylum to the persecuted orientals, and encouraged oppressed parties in every church to regard the see of Rome as their natural refuge against

[e] Innocent no doubt intended by this observation to exclude the canons of Antioch used by the court against Chrysostom. *Baron.* Ann. 404, §§ 26, 27; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 235. It is not, however, improbable that bishop Innocent had in view that spurious conjunction of the Nicene canons with those of the problematical council of Sardica, which not many years afterwards occasioned great perplexity to the African churches.

[f] See fragm. Epp. Innoc. I. ap. *Baron.* Ann. 404, §§ 36, 37.

those distresses into which the factious spirit of religious dissension was for ever plunging them—a function which his successors were never at a loss for opportunity to claim and exercise. In support of the mediatorial character he had taken upon himself in this important dispute, Innocent obtained from the emperor Honorius letters of intercession to his colleague in the East on behalf of the sufferers. Arcadius, however, vouchsafed no reply to these, or even to a second letter to the same effect. The refugees, after this, drew up a detailed statement of their grievances, and appended to it a humble remonstrance to Arcadius, with a prayer for redress, as due, not so much to themselves personally, as to the peace of the Church generally. To that end they petitioned him to convoke a council at Thessalonica, at which eight prelates should represent the western churches, with a view to examine into the late proceedings against John of Constantinople; and that the council should be furnished with powers to inflict condign punishment upon the guilty, whoever they might turn out to be. The deputation to which the presentation of this memorial was intrusted consisted of eight western prelates, and four others selected from among the oriental refugees. These persons were provided with credentials from Honorius recommending them to the protection and confidence of his colleague, and further requesting that Theophilus of Alexandria should be commanded to attend the proposed synod as accuser, that he might then and there substantiate his charges against Chrysostom, or abide the penalty of his falsehood.

Deputation of bishops; its fate.

The deputation proceeded upon its mission; but they had no sooner touched the confines of the eastern empire than they were, by orders from the court, led off as common malefactors, and treated with every circumstance of hardship and ill-usage usually inflicted upon state-prisoners. In this character they arrived at Constantinople, where their credentials were taken from them; the western bishops were separated from their companions and shipped off on board a leaky vessel, in which, at the extreme peril of their lives,

they reached the port of Lampsacus, and thence found a safe passage home. Their less fortunate friends were destined to linger out their lives in places selected for their desolate aspect and pestiferous atmosphere, with a view either to break the spirits of the victims, or by their death to gratify the vindictive passions of their enemies.

Innocent I. renounces communion with Atticus of Constantinople and his accomplices.

After the death of Arsacius in the year 405, the court-party made some amends to the Church by the elevation of Atticus, a man of learning and respectable character, to the patriarchal chair. But he seems to have had no power to arrest the insane proceedings of his patrons against the recusants of Chrysostom's party. After the dismissal of the western deputation, the persecutions against all who declined the communion of the new patriarch, or with Theophilus of Alexandria and Porphyry bishop of Antioch—the declared enemies of the exiled pontiff—burst out with increased fury. All who refused compliance with the mandate of the court were carried away into exile enhanced by the most cruel privations, personal insults and forced labours. Many were compelled to skulk in holes and corners, to assume disguises, or to maintain themselves in concealment by manual labour. These severities, and the revolting report made by the deputation of their own sufferings, and the desperate state of their friends in the East, amply justified Innocent in the step he resolved to take. Regarding bishops Atticus, Theophilus, and Porphyry as chargeable with the crimes perpetrated by the court—as he had every reason to believe—by their connivance or consent, he solemnly renounced communion with those prelates, and flung back the responsibility of the schism upon those who, by their insolent contempt of every law, human or divine, had driven him to that extremity.

Roman interference in the cause of Chrysostom.

In the course of these transactions Rome had reason to congratulate herself upon the part she had played and the character she had earned. She had worthily maintained her lofty position in the Church; she had taken upon herself the character of common referee of Christendom to enforce

the dictates of the law-Christian against inexcusable wrong and injustice; she was the protector of innocence, and offered herself rightfully as the instrument of executing justice upon the evil-doer. In all this she had sustained her part with diligence and discretion; and in return she had been treated with that deferential confidence which, in an age not distinguished for circumspection or forecast—an age always disturbed by passion and party spirit, for the gratification of which each faction alternately saw its advantage in a close alliance with her—might wear a significant appearance of homage, and could not fail to be productive of an immediate profit of influence and authority, to be turned to account for the future advancement or consolidation of her power.[g]

Innocent I. renews the vicariate of Illyricum Orientale.

The dealings of Innocent I. with foreign churches are marked with a spirit of forbearance and gentleness we do not perceive in his treatment of those communities which he regarded as subject to his proper patriarchal influence. His very first task was to secure that influence against the

g Yet we cannot contemplate without surprise the use made of the incidents narrated in the text by the Roman advocates, *Baronius* (Ann. 407, §§ 19-22) and *Bellarmine* (De Pont. Rom. lib. ii. c. 15). These writers present the transactions connected with the cause of Chrysostom as a judicial appeal to the Roman pontiff as *supreme judge* in all ecclesiastical controversy: Theophilus and Chrysostom are respectively respondent and appellant—the former derives that character from his *dutiful* report of the proceedings at the council of the "Oak" to the supreme bishop; the latter by his application to Rome adopts the jurisdiction: the submission is complete on both sides; and on both this conduct results from a preexisting legal sense of the paramount appellate authority of the chair of Peter. And if this were a correct inference from the demeanour of the parties, a significant case might be established on behalf of Rome. But no reader of ecclesiastical history and antiquity can be ignorant that the report of Theophilus was any thing more than an act of ecclesiastical courtesy due quite as much *from* as *to* the bishop of Rome in like cases. That act stood in no connection with the appeal of Chrysostom, and can by no ingenuity be tortured into an acknowledgment of jurisdiction. Again, it is equally clear that the act of Chrysostom was an appeal not *ad judicem*, but simply *ad amicum;* it was interposed with a view to procure a canonical inquiry into the conduct of his adversaries, as well as that by which he had himself incurred their hostility. And so the matter was understood by Innocent himself. "What we ought to do in this case," he says, "*must be determined by a synod*, which should be called as soon as possible; for thus *alone* can the fury of these tempests be allayed." But, in fact, Chrysostom and his friends had not thrown themselves at all upon the judgment of the Roman pontiff, but upon that of a council, general or special, which he was to be instrumental in calling; and all they asked was, that their cause should not be prejudged until the solemn decision of the Church should thus be obtained. Conf. *Dupin.* de Ant.

formidable rival whom Constantine the Great had raised up to Old Rome. His predecessors Damasus, Siricius, and Anastasius had asserted their jurisdiction over Illyricum Orientale by the appointment of the metropolitan archbishop of Thessalonica as their vicar or representative for that extensive diocese. Innocent confirmed that appointment to Anysius the reigning bishop; but it is not very easy at this point of time to determine the rights exercised by the pontifical vicar; it may, however, be conjectured to have consisted in a visitatorial delegation for the purposes of enforcing discipline, affording redress of grievances, and general protection of the rights of the provincial prelates.[h] This kind of jurisdiction, there is some reason to believe, had for a long time past been silently extended by the Roman pontiffs over the Italian and other neighbouring regions. But whether it existed *de jure*, or only by sufferance and motives of reverential submission, no step could be more effectual, with the view to convert it into a right, than the establishment of stationary officers representing that power visibly and ostentatiously, and annexing it to the highest ecclesiastical dignities within the district it was intended to inure to the yoke. And, in fact, during the pontificate of Innocent I. we perceive a more manifest disposition on the part of the western churches to lean upon Rome with a rare deference and respect. The pontiff was frequently consulted by the churches of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, upon topics of disciplinarian importance; and though we do not as yet hear of any vicars for those provinces, we know that the archbishops of the vast diocese of Illyricum Orientale had acknowledged the appropriation by accepting the visitatorial office from four successive bishops of Rome.

And the tone assumed by Innocent in his replies to the dutiful applications of those distant churches seems

Disc. Eccl. p. 168 et sqq. The story of the formal excommunication of Arcadius by Innocent, accredited by Baronius and Bellarmine on the authority of certain manifestly spurious letters purporting to have passed between them, is rejected by Pagi, and not even noticed by Fleury.

[h] Conf. *Bower*, quoting Holstenius' Call. Rom. vol. i. p. 307; and see Palladius, ap. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 236.

purposely calculated to obliterate the distinction between advice and command. It appears that in the year 414 the bishops of the Macedonian province of the Illyrian diocese had submitted certain questions of discipline to the decision of Innocent, to which the latter had duly replied. But the prelates seem not to have evinced the expected alacrity or zeal in the adoption of his decisions; and in reply to a second application from the same parties, the pontiff signified in no measured terms his displeasure at their dullness or their disobedience. "I had (he said) *before* taken cognisance of your doubts; and do now adjudge it an insult to the apostolic see that any hesitation should have occurred in a matter referred to, and decided by that see which is the *head of all churches*. Therefore this your second application compels me to reiterate and to enforce over again by argument that which I wrote to you on the prior occasion."[i] The opinions of this pontiff upon several of the subjects which have already come under our notice were expressed in much more dogmatical and imperative terms than had been usual in the intercourse of Rome with foreign churches. In the third year after his accession, he addressed to Victricius bishop of Rouen a body of rules or canons for his guidance in matters concerning ordination, the marriage of the clergy, the reception of converted schismatics, and the treatment of consecrated virgins.[j] In the following year he wrote a series of replies to Exuperius bishop of Toulouse upon the like matters, more particularly that of clerical marriage, in which he skilfully repeats and improves upon the arguments of his predecessor Siricius,[k] and strongly insists upon the obligation of the precepts delivered, upon the ground that, in all cases of doubt, difficulty or varying usage, it is the bounden duty of *all churches* to resort to and abide by the decisions of the apostolic see, as the fountain-head of authentic tradition.[l]

Tone of Innocent I. in his intercourse with the western churches.

[i] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1015.

[j] *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 999.

[k] See p. 265 of this chapter.

[l] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1003. He rather disingenuously steps aside from the objection derived from Paul's direction to Timothy, that a bishop should be the "husband of one wife." It was a notorious understanding, he contends, that this meant merely that no can-

The traditional stores of the Roman church had, it is obvious, become much enlarged since the establishment of Christianity. In a decretal epistle addressed to Decentius bishop of Eugubium in the year 414, Innocent complains that the traditions of the Roman see handed down from St. Peter were held in contempt: "Truly," he exclaims, "this is a surprising spectacle; for it is notorious to all the world that no one save *that apostle himself and his successors have instituted bishops and founded churches in all the Gauls, in Spain, Africa, Sicily and the adjacent islands.* . . . . You have, no doubt, visited Rome; you have been present at the assemblies of our church, and have seen what are the usages observed there . . . . *this is sufficient for your instruction.*" It may be remarked, that this claim to the maternity or parentage of the western churches set up by Innocent I. must have been a tradition of very recent origin. That claim is advanced by this pontiff for the first time, and marks a much wider range of pretension than had been contemplated by any of his predecessors. The decretal teaches that the usages and *traditions* of the Roman church are the law by which the Christian churches of the West are to be governed; and that *that* obligation springs from the established fact that Rome is the parent, and consequently the lawful and natural tutor and guardian, of her own offspring. From such documents as this, and the reception they met with, we may form some opinion as to the extent to which the western world was prepared to listen with complacency or resignation to language—be it even of a more lofty import—proceeding from the chair of Peter, whenever outward circumstances should concur to give a higher value to the counsels and support of the great central church.[m]

Innocent I. on the *maternity* of the Roman church.

An opportunity of this nature presented itself when, about the year 412, Pelagius, a man of obscure parentage, but of considerable reputation for

The Pelagian heresy.

didate for the episcopacy who at the time was or had been the husband of more than one wife was eligible; and that it by no means implied that, if actually married, he might continue so after ordination!

[m] See the Ep. ad Decentium,—ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 995.

piety and learning, suddenly took up arms against the predestinarian theory at that time prevailing in the Christian world. Both Pelagius himself and his scholar Cœlestius were admitted to have been men of irreproachable lives—active and popular preachers of practical Christianity. Struck with the mental and moral torpor of the age, they endeavoured to inspire their hearers with a more worthy idea of their own moral nature, and a more awful sense of individual responsibility. Thus they hoped to encounter that spiritual supineness which had hitherto, in conformity with the prevailing doctrine, led them to undervalue their own spiritual capacities, and to rely rather upon the unmerited and spontaneous operation of divine grace than upon the spiritual resources within them. With this view, they taught that man must by simple volition have brought his own mental and moral powers into active operation before he could lay claim to the aid of divine grace in the work of his conversion and regeneration; for, said they, such aid is only vouchsafed to those who, by a voluntary, spontaneous, and thoroughly practical pursuit of righteousness, have acquired a capacity to receive and profit by that sacred gift. In this view, it is obvious that divine grace assumes the character rather of a secondary or auxiliary power than that of the principal—or, as their great adversary Augustine of Hippo contended—the *sole* meritorious cause of human salvation through the sacrifice of the cross.

Pelagian controversy.

The controversy in its progress came to involve the great questions of predestination and free will; of human responsibility, original sin, the grace and efficacy of baptism, and, ultimately, of redemption itself. In a dispute so complicated, so utterly beyond the bounds of human intelligence, and in an age in which books were scarce, and the diffusion of information slow and difficult, it was an easy matter to fix upon these bold and perhaps rash champions of practical religion the imputations of denying altogether the necessity of divine grace, and of maintaining that man might by his own unaided efforts arrive at Christian perfection. But for

these charges there appears to have been no sufficient ground. Amid much obscurity and perplexity of expression, Pelagius seems to have differed from his opponents rather as to the particular stage of Christian progress at which the aid of divine grace steps in, than as to the indispensable necessity of its assistance. The churches of Africa and Palestine, with the subtle Augustine of Hippo and the fiery Jerome at their head, maintained that free unmerited grace is the exclusive moving-power in the religious mind, and that it must be regarded as the aboriginal source of divine life in the soul. Pelagius, on the other hand, joined issue with them upon the exclusive function, and imputed an independent co-operative agency to the human will; for thereby alone could any foundation be laid for a responsibility for sin, and a proper penal liability for its consequences. It was not disputed on either side that the natural conscience was the law of God written in the heart of man, and therefore to be regarded as the voucher of human responsibility. But Pelagius treated the awakened conscience rather as the spontaneous working of a natural implanted law in the mind than as an effect imported into it by an extrinsic irresistible force—a doctrine which he thought must at once annihilate human responsibility for sin, and imply an impeachment of God's justice in the punishment of sinners.

In the working out of such a theme it could not be expected that expressions should not have escaped him which, when severed from their context, might furnish a formidable list of heresies. But the pious earnestness with which he spoke of the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the purified and enlightened will, of the necessity and efficacy of constant and persevering prayer for His aid in the mortal struggle of the soul to *do* the will of God, more than once drove his adversaries to the mortifying dilemma of either admitting in some shape the independent co-operation of the human will, or abandoning the sole ground upon which responsibility for sin can be maintained and the justice of God be vindicated.

During the pontificate of Innocent I., Pelagius had

resided and taught for several years unmolested in Rome, and had there connected himself with Cœlestius, a person of enthusiastic temperament, who zealously espoused his opinions, and, as usual, carried them probably a good deal further than their author intended or desired. From Rome Pelagius and his friend removed about the year 412—the former to the East, where he encountered Jerome, the latter to Africa, where he came into collision with the formidable Augustine of Hippo, the acknowledged champion of the sole agency and exclusive sufficiency of divine grace in every stage of the Christian progress. But the followers of Pelagius and Cœlestius by this time filled the churches of Palestine, Africa, Gaul, and even of Rome. The reigning doctors of the Latin and Syrian churches felt themselves eclipsed by the popularity of the new teachers. Augustine promptly unsheathed the sword of controversy in Africa. In the East the fierce Jerome fixed his talons into the Pelagians of Palestine and Syria, though with very moderate success. Meanwhile Augustine had succeeded in obtaining from the two synods of the Numidian and Mauritanian provinces of Africa[n] a formal and unqualified condemnation of the alleged heresies.

Augustine and Jerome against Pelagius.

In compliance with the immemorial usage of all the greater churches in communion with each other, the two synods reported their proceedings to the bishop of Rome,[o] and requested the approval and ratification of the apostolic see. This act was indeed not simply a usual, but an indispensable token of church-fellowship, due in all cases of conciliar proceeding from one great church to another,—therefore *from*, as well as *to*, the Latin patriarch himself. But bishop —or, as the African fathers style him, Pope—Innocent accepted these communications as tenders of dutiful

Report of the African councils to Innocent I.

[n] Held at Carthage and Milevis in the year 416. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 1214 (erroneously paged 2014) and 1218. These councils seem rather to have fastened upon particular expressions and collateral tenets of the Pelagians than to have grappled with the scope and merits of the question he had raised. The name of Augustine appears upon the list of the fathers assembled at Milevis.

[o] See the reports or synodal letters of both councils,—ap. *Hard.* Concil. ubi sup.

His reply.

homage and allegiance to his see; and in his reply he commended them for their alacrity in submitting matters of such moment to his consideration and approval. They had, he said, by such reference manifested a proper sense of the submission due to the apostolic see, whence all episcopal power flowed, and must ever flow, *as from one single fountain-head*, to fertilise the whole world by its manifold streamlets; they had done well faithfully to observe the *sacred institutions of the fathers*, who had, under divine instruction, decreed that nothing should be finally resolved upon, though it were in the remotest corners of the world, without the knowledge and consent[p] of the apostolic see; by which precept, he contended, it was determined that that holy see should, *by its antecedent and plenary authority*, impart the character and the validity of organic laws of the Church to ordinances which would otherwise have only a local and partial operation; in this way alone could the special enactments of particular churches become binding upon the Church-catholic, and the plea of ignorance as to what to teach, and how to rule, be effectually encountered. By this form of answer Innocent avoided the appearance of giving a simply consultative opinion, or a bare concurrence in the decision of the African synods. He took to himself, not a ministerial, but an enacting part in all general church-legislation; his vote was not the vote of a senator, but the fiat of a monarch. And at the close of the letter he informed the Africans that he had *of his own authority* condemned the heresies of Pelagius and his pupil Cœlestius, that he had severed them from the body of the Church, and pronounced them aliens from Christian society.[q]

In the month of July 417 Innocent I. closed an active reign of rather more than fifteen years; and in

[p] Judicial cognisance.

[q] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 1025 et sqq. There are expressions in this letter which lead to the belief that Innocent had already leapt to the conclusion that his *own authority* was of itself conclusive upon any point decided from the chair of Peter. The general facts connected with the Pelagian controversy are extremely well told by *Fleury*, H. E. vol. v. pp. 373 to 453, passim. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 416, 417; and *Cent. Magd.* cent. iv. p. 556.

the month of August following was succeeded by Zosimus, a Calabrian Greek.[r] Cœlestius, who had yielded to the storm raised against him in Africa, resolved, singularly enough, in the teeth of the sweeping sentence of spiritual outlawry pronounced by the Roman pontiff, to carry his cause to Rome itself, there to demand an inquiry into his doctrine, and a reversal of the sentence of the African churches. But it is still more remarkable that the new pontiff received him civilly; that he listened to his explanations, received his confession of faith, and pronounced it sound; and then, as if in real or affected ignorance of the decision of his predecessor, summoned the accusers of the two heresiarchs to appear before himself at Rome within a specified term; and in the mean time enjoined both parties to "abstain from all captious questionings and silly disputations, not tending to edification but rather to strife, encouraging impertinent speculations and intemperate language." And this he declared to be his pleasure, in virtue of the *singular authority and peculiar reverence* due to the apostolic see, in honour of the blessed Peter, and in conformity with the *decrees of the fathers*.[s]

Zosimus bishop; he favours the Pelagians.

About the same time Praÿlus bishop of Jerusalem reported to bishop Zosimus the proceedings of a council held at Lydda, in Palestine, against Pelagius, at the solicitation of Jerome. It appeared that two Gallic bishops, Heras and Lazarus by name, had undertaken a migratory commission against the new heresy. They had in the first instance appeared as the accusers of Pelagius before the synod of Lydda; and had afterwards proceeded to Africa on the same mission. The fathers of Lydda had declared themselves satisfied with the profession of faith handed in by Pelagius; but they hesitated as to certain points in his public teaching. The report, however, appears to

Zosimus approves the confession of Pelagius.

[r] *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 283. This writer gives to Innocent I. a reign of fifteen years two months and ten days. Zosimus was elected after an interval of twenty-two days, *i. e.* on the 20th Aug. 417.

[s] *Baronius* (Ann. 417, § 19) professes to have disinterred this decretal from a Ms. in the library of the Vatican, and sets it out at length, eod. ann. § 31.

have been satisfactory to Zosimus; and in his rescript to the Africans upon the same matter he thus expresses his approval: "How great," he says, "was the joy of the holy men who were present with us when these things were read to us! So great, indeed, was their admiration of the whole and every part of these writings, that they could scarcely refrain from tears to think that such men should have been exposed to slander and persecution." In a later epistle he severely reprehends the Africans for "listening to the prattle of such public pests as Heras and Lazarus; he stigmatised all former proceedings against Pelagius and Cœlestius as rash and precipitate, and reminded them of the custom of the church of Rome to condemn no one without confronting him with his accusers, and thereby affording him the best means for his defence; nor would Heras and Lazarus have so conducted themselves if they had taken the trouble to reflect that every thing they said and did *must of necessity* thereafter come under the scrutiny of the apostolic see; . . . . in short, up to that moment neither of the accused had said or done any thing to forfeit the communion of Rome or of the catholic Church."[t]

Decree of the African churches against foreign appeals.

But Augustine was not to be thus easily thrown out of the saddle. The African churches, at his instance, deaf alike to the reasonable remonstrances and the lofty pretensions of the Roman pontiff, assembled at Carthage in the month of May 418, under the presidency of Augustine; and again Pelagius, his doctrines and his disciples, were condemned and anathematised without hearing or opportunity of defence. If this decision was intended as their reply to the decretal of Zosimus, they could hardly have put a more peremptory negative upon his pretensions. And, as if they considered this as a proper occasion for declaring the canonical limits of ecclesiastical judicature, and

[t] *Baron.* Ann. 417, § 25 to 30. Both Zosimus the Pope and the cardinal annalist appear to have equally lost sight of the act of Innocent with reference to these injured individuals little more than a twelvemonth before the date of this letter. The proceeding of Innocent himself against Pelagius and Cœlestius is a singular illustration of the maxim of the Roman church, to "condemn no one unheard!"

to assert, in direct contradiction to the claims of two successive pontiffs, their own independent position in the Church-catholic, they republished the Nicene canon upon spiritual jurisdiction; and by their xx^th resolution decreed that all priests, deacons, and inferior clerks who had any complaint to prefer against their ordinary might appeal to the bishops of the vicinage, and from them to the primate or the council of Africa; "*but*," they said, "*if any one shall presume to appeal beyond sea, let none among you receive him into communion.*"[u]

Honorius decrees the banishment of the Pelagians.

The Africans took no further notice of the citation of Zosimus. A more compendious course lay before them. The miserable princes who governed the Roman world at this great crisis of its history were ever ready to display their rigid orthodoxy by impolitic and sanguinary edicts against all manner of religious errors and heresies, many of them so faint and evanescent as to have escaped all other historical description.[v] The Africans accordingly despatched their colleague, the bishop Vendemialis, to Ravenna, where the wretched Honorius, surrounded by priests and eunuchs, was skulking from the arms of the barbarian enemies of his empire.[w] The envoy laid before him the proceedings of the African synods against Pelagius and Cœlestius, and besought him to unsheath the temporal sword against the heresiarchs and their followers. In compliance with this request, the emperor decreed that

[u] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1220. See the xx^th resolution of the council of Milevis. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 486. There is some confusion in the arrangement of the African synods in the Concilia. Several councils for the suppression of Pelagianism were held in consecutive years prior to the death of Innocent I. These councils appear to have been summoned in conformity with the v^th canon of Nicæa, which directs the holding of semestral synods. This rule was strictly observed by the African churches; but the collectors were either unable or unwilling to preserve the chronological order; and have clubbed the decrees of different synods under one or more heads or names of places, as best suited their convenience. The Milevitan synod above quoted was, however, obviously that which met the Roman claim to entertain appeals from the African judicature in the manner mentioned in the text. There was in fact no other *transmarine* authority that could have ever thought of provoking or entertaining such appeals.

[v] See the list in *Gothof.* Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 5 de Hæreticis.

[w] But more perhaps from apprehension and jealousy of his veteran general Stilicho.

Pelagius and Cœlestius should be banished from Rome; rewards were promised to informers for the discovery of the delinquents and their supporters; and all persons convicted of entertaining their errors were to be punished with exile and sequestration of goods.[x]

Bishop Zosimus condemns the Pelagians.

After the promulgation of this decree bishop Zosimus hastened to retrace his steps. Cœlestius was summoned to appear at Rome and answer to a revived inquiry into the orthodoxy of his doctrine. But finding that the chances of a successful defence were against him, he declined to appear to the citation, and thus afforded his adversaries the desired opportunity of condemning him and his followers by default. Zosimus now gave his sanction to a resolution denouncing, as teeming with heresy, that very confession of faith he had so recently eulogised as affectingly impressive by its simple orthodoxy. Pelagius and his followers were cut off from the communion of the Church, and treated as outcasts from Christian society, unless they should repent, and under their own hands renounce and condemn every offensive proposition uttered by, or imputed to them.[y] The attempt of Zosimus to drag the African churches to his footstool had been ill-timed and injudicious; it had exposed him to a rebuff that could only be retrieved by a prompt and unreserved surrender to the force of ecclesiastical opinion. But the pontiff having once abandoned his untenable position, the gratitude of the orthodox knew no bounds. Augustine, Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, Sextus, Orosius, and several other distinguished champions of the Augustinian doctrine, now listened without a word of disapprobation to

[x] *Baron.* Ann. 418, § 20. This edict is not in the Theodosian code. Baronius professes to have received it from a Gallic doctor who found it in Ms. in the ancient convent of St. Vedastus of Arras. Both the cardinal and his commentator Pagi take pains to show that this decree must have been issued at the instance of Zosimus himself. Of this, however, there is very insufficient evidence. Setting aside other difficulties, I am disposed to rely upon the greater difficulty of reconciling it with the whole conduct of Zosimus in his dealings with the African churches. *Fleury* (II. E. tom. v. pp. 481 et sqq.) adopts the view of the learned Quesnel, and dates the decree of Honorius *before* the condemnation of Pelagius by Zosimus.

[y] *Baron.* Ann. 418, §§ 16, 17, 18.

the broadest assertions of spiritual jurisdiction on his part —assertions coextensive, in fact, with the whole domain of ecclesiastical legislation and judicature.[z]

Deference of the provincial clergy for the see of Rome.

The zealous Augustine, rejoicing in his victory over the advocates of free will and human responsibility, was naturally anxious to rescue Rome from any discredit which might accrue to her from her late indiscreet indulgence for the condemned doctrine. In his published animadversions against the still living and stirring faction, he strove to make the most of her tardy support, and declined any closer inquiry into the course of transactions that might tend to darken the lustre of his triumph.[a] The absence of direct verbal contradiction to claims which, if duly examined, must have been found to absorb all ecclesiastical powers, might indeed be explained by a supposed sense of the awful authority and dignity of St. Peter's chair; but the neglect might also spring from the vast interest which every section of the western or Latin church felt in maintaining the integrity and securing the support of the great metropolitan and government-church, and from a sense of the necessity of some central referee whose award should command the executive intervention of the state. Politically considered, this is the true key to the secret of the power of Rome. In some shape or other, every contest about jurisdiction, rank, territorial limits or authority between the higher orders of the hierarchy was sure to find its way to Rome. The civil government naturally leaned to a system of ecclesiastical polity most

[z] Thus, in a letter of Zosimus to the African bishops, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 418, § 4: "*Patrum traditio* apostolicæ sedi auctoritatem tantam tribuit, ut de ejus judicio disceptare nullus auderet; idque per canones (?) semper regulasque servavit, &c. Habet enim ipse, cum *omnium ecclesiarum*, tum hujus maxime ubi sederat (Petrus) curam; nec patitur aliquid privilegii, aut aliquâ titubare aurâ sententiæ, cui ipse (Petrus) sui nominis, et nullis hebetata motibus constituit fundamenta, &c." But of these "*traditions of the fathers*" neither Zosimus nor his predecessor condescend to give us either extract or reference. Whether they were written or verbal, whether documentary or merely traditional, we have not a solitary hint. I am not aware that they were ever appealed to before the pontificate of Innocent, in these or any terms of the like import, except as incidental to the idea of the cathedra Petri. But it must be admitted that no such explanations, as far as we know, were ever demanded by other churches.

[a] See the ample extracts from his writings against the Pelagians, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 417 and 418 passim.

in harmony with that of the state; and thus at the court the bishop of Rome came to represent the church of the empire and the religion of the emperor. It was always most convenient to treat with him in the name of the whole. The Roman vicariate was his own absolute domain, unfettered by metropolitan control or management, and secured by a dependent prelacy; it formed a spiritual monarchy in strict analogy to the state-practice of the empire. As the political capital of the western world, the whole habit of mind, every prejudice of society, favoured the pretensions of the great city to be likewise the religious capital—and to be so in the same sense as she was the seat of the political autocracy. It is therefore no matter of surprise that her bishops should have improved such advantages as these to convert the semblance into the reality of dominion.

CHAPTER II.

HONORIAN PERIOD.

Title of Papa or Pope—Optatus of Milevis on the "cathedra Petri"—Augustine on the Petrine primacy—Augustine's idea of the outward representative unity—Ecclesiastical opinion as evidence of primitive custom—Pope Zosimus awards the primacy of Gallia Narbonensis to the see of Arles—Arles a *vicariate*—Zosimus in the cause of Apiarius—The legate Faustinus and the alleged canons of Nicæa—The Africans question the genuineness of the alleged canons—Boniface I. and the African churches—Demeanour of the African churches—Grounds of the attachment of the Africans to Rome—Augustine and Boniface in the cause of Antony of Fussalis—Production of the genuine canons of Nicæa—Cœlestine I. in the cause of Apiarius—Recusancy of the Africans—Papal policy and growth of the Roman prerogative—The pontifical vicariate—Drift and objects of the vicariate—Domestic affairs of the Roman church—Religious faction in Rome; Boniface and Eulalius—Rejection of Boniface—Memorial of Boniface—Honorius directs a new trial—Issue of the contest—Civil war in Rome—Expulsion of Eulalius—Boniface pope—Merits of the election—Imperial law of election—The Eulalian faction survives—Usurpation and downfall of John the Primicerius—Valentinian II. emperor—Edicts against heretics and schismatics.

No circumstance that tends to give colour to a claim of right systematically pursued can be regarded as trivial. The unvarying assumption of the title of "papa," or "pope," by the bishop of Rome from the fifth century down to this hour is a circumstance of that character. The title so assumed is an abbreviation of the words "pater patrum"—father of fathers—and, at the beginning of that century, was applied indifferently to the four patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. In the East, we are told that it was first given to all the bishops of the Egyptian diocese, and afterwards assumed by those of the eastern præfectures generally. In the West, the metropolitans of Aquileia and Ravenna were sometimes

Title of papa or pope.

called "papæ;" but from the fifth century forward it was *invariably* claimed and borne by the bishops of Rome as the badge of their supreme rank and dignity among the churches of Christendom.[a] The *exclusive* attribution of the title of "pope" by the bishops of Rome among the western churches is perhaps of a somewhat later date. It was, however, gradually dropped or abandoned in their favour by the prelacy of that division of the Christian world, and afterwards rarely assumed by the pontiffs of the eastern empire. The transfer of a distinction once enjoyed by several to one of a number indicates a certain concentration of rank or dignity in the one so distinguished. Though the bishops of Rome still decline the title of "bishop of bishops," which they appear at one time to have affected, they lay great stress upon the title of "pope."[b] And, indeed, that title has the advantage of greater universality and comprehensiveness; its brevity makes it more familiar to the lips of men, and gives it a more general and a stronger hold upon their feelings and prejudices. The derivation indicates that it could have been originally no more than a designation of filial respect and reverence; but an illiterate and incautious age very soon learns to confound a name with an office—to mistake a badge of seniority or precedency for a token of authority; the original error is nursed into a usage; and what was at first a simple homage of the affections is treated as a prescriptive submission to a lawful magistracy.

Optatus on the cathedra Petri.

It is hardly to be doubted that the gradual appropriation of the title of "pope" arose from the high reverence entertained by the Latin church for the reputed see of Peter. And indeed we find in the ecclesiastical documents of this age a very marked enhancement of those characteristic attributions from which

[a] *Hoffman*, Lex. Univ. tom. iv. p. 561—an extremely useful and accurate work; *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad voc. "Papa" and "Pater Patrum." In the Greek church it was extended to all priests, and continues so to this day.

[b] Book I. ch. v. p. 107. Gregory I. (the Great) indignantly repudiated the latter title, on the ground that it trenched upon the ministerial equality of all bishops, and indicated a claim of *ordinary* jurisdiction which no bishop had a right to assume over the rest; yet no pope ever more stoutly maintained the *extraordinary* jurisdiction of the see of Peter.

that appropriation may be most naturally explained. The African churches, hitherto the stoutest defenders of the episcopal franchise, listened, as it should seem, without any misgiving to the magniloquent attributions assigned to the see of Peter by the metropolitan bishop Optatus of Milevis, even before the close of the fourth century. That prelate, in his work against the Donatists, describes to us the apostle Peter as the sole "*representative*" of the "ecclesiastical unity," and of that undying apostolical authority upon which the whole Church is founded: he is *the one* to whom, in the name of all, the keys of heaven are intrusted, that he may impart the benefit to all. In the Roman bishop he discerns the inexpugnable "throne of Peter," bearing to all other bishops the same relation which Peter bore to the rest of the apostles. In this view, the Roman church represented *the* VISIBLE *unity of the apostolic power*, of which all the several powers of the episcopate are, as it were, the manifold rills or streamlets—she is the *one episcopate*, from which all others spiritually branch off as from a single fountain-head.[c]

Augustine on the Petrine primacy.

In this mode of representing the chair of Peter the theory of the bygone ages almost drops its symbolism, and appears to us in the shape of a dogmatic principle of law founded on a given or ascertained state of historical fact. Taking together the dicta of Innocent I. and Optatus of Milevis, the entire episcopacy is placed before us as a simple emanation from the aboriginal Petrine pontificate—as a dependent and delegated power having neither life nor substance but what it derives from the see of Peter—as a

[c] *Optat. Milev.* lib. ii. c. 2, and lib. vii. c. 3, as quoted by *Neander*, Kirch. Gesch. vol. ii. p. 356. In the second book Optatus assures us that "the *first* episcopal see was set up in Rome for Peter, and there he sat as chief of the apostles: he was also called Cephas, for in him *alone* (as the 'rock') was the unity of the episcopacy to inhere; nor could any of the apostles claim for themselves any see at all; so that he who shall set up any other against this *single* chair is a sinner and a schismatic." *Cent. Magd.* cent. iv. p. 356. Innocent I. seems to have quoted almost literally from Optatus in his reply to the report of the Africans upon the Pelagian controversy. Book II. ch. i. p. 286. But it may be noted, that serious doubts are entertained of the genuineness of the viiith book of the work of Optatus. See *Smith*, Biog. Dict. voc. "Optatus."

stream which dries up the instant it is cut off from the parent source. It is, however, a remarkable fact that almost half a century later than the work of Optatus, Augustine, the great luminary of the African church, should have placed the Petrine primacy upon a different, if not upon a lower level. "The Church," he says, "cannot fall, because it is founded upon the rock from which Peter derived his name. For that rock was not so called from Peter, but Peter took his name from the rock, just as Christ had not his name from (the word) 'Christian,' but the Christian is so called from Christ. It was for this cause that the Lord said, 'Upon this rock will I build my church,' that Peter had before declared, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God'—'upon this rock, therefore, which thou hast confessed will I build my church'—*the rock therefore was Christ;* he was that rock upon which Peter himself did build—'for other foundation can no man lay but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.'"[d]

Augustine's idea of the outward representative unity.

This exposition of the original position of St. Peter in the Church has led many persons to the inference that St. Augustine repudiated the principle of the Petrine primacy as laid down by Optatus—that, in fact, he held the Church to have been founded *not upon the person*, but solely upon the *faith* of Peter; consequently that all Christians in whom the like faith was perfected were to be regarded as collectively the rock or foundation of the Church-catholic—a view in which the whole body of the faithful would come to represent the visible unity, in such wise as to put an end to Peter's sole representation. But the two views are not, in fact, irreconcilable. Augustine desired to draw attention to the *spiritual* character of the rock; and that character he found in the confession of Peter; but without thereby intending to sink the personal representation which seemed to flow from the exclusive address of the Lord to Peter. In common with the age in which he lived, he was himself possessed with the idea of a visible representative unity, and considered

[d] *Aug.* Tract. in Ev. Johann ap. *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. p. 568.

that unity as equally the subject of divine precept and institution with the Church-spiritual itself.[e] The spiritual unity might therefore stand upon the *faith* of Peter, while the outward and visible oneness was inherent in his person; so that while the Church derived her esoteric and spiritual character from the faith which Peter had confessed, she received her external or executive powers from Peter through "the succession of bishops" sitting in Peter's chair. Practically, indeed, there was little to choose between the two theories. To Rome it was not very important whether she based her title upon the faith or the person of Peter, as long as she kept up her special representative character. In the sequel, we shall invariably find her claiming the advantage of both titles. And, though we may be convinced that, at this point of time, the Africans were by no means inclined to grant the extent of governing power involved in the accepted principle of an external representative unity, yet Rome, naturally enough, neglected no opportunity to claim the full benefit of the admission; towards obtaining which the first step was, on all occasions, *to presume its presence in the minds of others as distinctly as it existed in her own;* so that, by laying that prepossession, as it were, at the foundation of the ecclesiastical edifice, she might suppress all inclination to inquire into its origin and validity.

Ecclesiastical opinion as evidence of primitive custom.

But, at bottom, the use to which the bishops—or, as we may now properly denominate them, the popes—of Rome turned the state of ecclesiastical opinion just adverted to could be justified upon no other ground than that of immemorial *custom* uniformly observed from the apostolical age downwards. Though existing opinion may to a certain extent be evidence of such a custom, yet it would be irrational to take that opinion as conclusive proof of a preexisting *principle* of church-government. A principle can only be proved by a series of acts done in conformity with its conditions and dictates, so as to show that it exists with clearness and distinctness in the minds of those whom

[e] *Aug.* de Util. Credend. § 35; *Neand.* K. G. vol. ii. p. 359.

it affects, and that it has been acted upon by them with such a degree of intelligent unanimity as to leave no reasonable doubt as to its applicability to each successive case as it arose, or as it might thereafter arise. Thus the opinions of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Optatus,—even if corroborated by the pseudo-Ignatian and Cyprianic documents,—would go little way to prove a primitive representation, unless supported by a uniform and self-consistent series of acts traceable from the apostolic ages, and deducible from a demonstrably apostolical authority. Without denying the existence of *latent* tendencies in all great and growing institutions among mankind, we cannot with any degree of propriety talk of *latent* principles. But the theory of a representative unity must be brought under the latter description, or it falls to the ground. A tendency is the subject of development; it is unperceived till it is developed. A principle, on the other hand, has no progress, and is always clearly discernible either in the acts or the mouths of men, or in both. The outward and visible representation, therefore, as claimed by the see of Rome, derives little strength from any state of public or private opinion at this or that particular stage of growth, unless that opinion be coexistent with every such stage, and be shown to be so by the requisite continuity and uniformity of expression and practice.

Zosimus awards the primacy of Gall. Narbon. to the see of Arles.

In the year 416 we find the churches of Gallia Narbonensis involved in disputes among themselves about the primacy of the great Gallic diocese. Patroclus archbishop of Arles claimed that dignity upon the ground of the priority and apostolicity of the foundation of his see.[f] He complained to pope Zosimus that the bishops of the other metropolitan sees had encroached upon his prerogative by ordaining bishops within the provinces sub-

[f] He affirmed that the see of Arles was founded by St. Trophimus, the disciple of St. Paul. There is very little historical foundation for this tradition. The Trophimus of Arles is certainly not the Trophimus of St. Paul. The name appears in the Cyprianic writings in connection with the church of Arles, but without date or other particular. *Moreri*, art. "Trophimus."

ject to his jurisdiction. Zosimus embraced his cause with great zeal, though on a different ground. It was, he said, a "notorious fact" that all the churches of Gaul had been originally founded by *St. Peter*, and that Trophimus in particular had been established in the see of Arles by that apostle in person; and on that ground he awarded the primacy to Patroclus, with directions to notify the decision to the other primates. But Proculus archbishop of Marseilles paid no attention to the papal mandate. The archbishops of Vienne and Narbonne, to whom letters from the pope to the same effect were transmitted through the primate of Arles, do not appear to have been more strongly impressed by the papal decision than their colleague of Marseilles. Zosimus, however, persisted; he declared Patroclus metropolitan and primate of Gaul by authority of the holy see: he alone was empowered to grant letters of communion (*literæ formatæ*);[g] all such letters not emanating from him were to be regarded as spurious; and all ordinations not approved by him were to be regarded as uncanonical and invalid. The pope moreover extended his jurisdiction to all ecclesiastical causes arising within the Narbonensian provinces, as the *vicar* and representative of the apostolic see, *excepting only such cases as, on account of their magnitude and importance*, the holy see might reserve to its own immediate judicature.[h]

Arles a *vicariate.*

The controversy remained in this state during the residue of the short pontificate of only one year and nine months of bishop Zosimus. The last months or days of his life exhibit no decline of zeal or activity for the extension of the papal prerogative. Urbanus, bishop of Sicca in Africa, a friend of Augustine,

Zosimus in the cause of Apiarius.

[g] These *literæ formatæ* were a kind of spiritual passport, or certificate, of character and station in the Church; and without them no communication could be held with any other clerical body, nor title to sacerdotal rank and function be established so as to impart the privilege of communion with foreign churches. See *Du Cange*, Gloss. voc. "Formatæ."

[h] This is, as far as I am aware, the first mention of that class of cases afterwards known by the name of *causæ majores*. See *Fleury*, Hist. Eccl. tom. v. p. 474, and *Dupin*, de Ant. Eccl. Discip. p. 50. The statements in this paragraph are founded upon the letters of the Gallic prelates found in the archives of the church of Arles. See *Baron.* Ann. 417, §§ 40-52; and Ann. 418, §§ 40-42. I do not meet with them in the "Concilia."

had censured and degraded a certain Apiarius, a presbyter of his church, upon the information and complaint of the people of Tabraca in Numidia.[i] Apiarius sailed for Rome, and laid his appeal from the adjudication of his bishop before the pope. Zosimus admitted him to communion, and without loss of time despatched bishop Faustinus of Potentina, attended by two presbyters, with instructions partly oral and partly in writing, directing them first of all to establish the general right of appeal to the Roman bishop: next, to protest against the migratory habits of the African bishops:[j] in the third place, to vindicate the right of priests and deacons to appeal to the bishops of the vicinity if rashly or unjustly excommunicated by their own bishop: and lastly, to call upon the Africans either to punish Urbanus, the accuser of Apiarius, or to send him to Rome to answer for his offence, unless he should immediately recall his censures.

The legate Faustinus and the alleged canons of Nicæa.

These four points, it appears, were the subjects of the oral instructions to Faustinus. The written document consisted principally of a copious extract from a body of canons which Zosimus was pleased to describe as the "*canons of the council of Nicæa.*" When Faustinus and his companions arrived in Africa, a full synod of the church was convoked at Carthage. The legate enumerated the four points proposed for discussion, and read the canons upon which he supported the papal demands. But upon inquiry it was found that the African copies of the acts of Nicæa, though deposited in the archives of the church of Carthage by bishop Cæcilius, who had been himself a member of the council, did not contain the canons produced by Faustinus as the law by which they were to be governed. Upon a more deliberate reading of the papal commonitorium, with which the legate had been furnished, it appeared that the canons recited were therein alleged to

[i] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 947.

[j] I am at a loss how to render the Greek ἵνα ἐπὶ τὸ κομιτᾶτον ἐπίσκοποι ὡς ἔτυχε μὴ πλεύσωσι: the word κομιτᾶτος (*comitatus*) refers to the court of the emperor or some "comes," governor or prefect. The expression to "sail away to court" may denote either the imperial court or that of the Comes of the province. *Du Cange*, Gloss. voc. "Comitatus."

be original acts of that venerable council, as adopted and re-enacted by the synod of Sardica in the year 347. The African churches, however, had never till now so much as heard of a council of Sardica. They could not, therefore, have been more completely taken by surprise than when they were gravely told that these unheard-of canons were in fact part and parcel of those venerated decrees of which they had hitherto believed themselves in full possession, and that they were to accept them in that character upon the authority of a council of which they had neither record nor recollection.[k]

The Africans question the genuineness of the alleged canons.

In this perplexity, the African bishops courteously requested the legates to cause diligent inquiry to be made in the proper quarter as to the genuineness of their copy of the acts of Nicæa; and they engaged on their part to set on foot a like investigation among their own records. Moreover they expressed their intention to request their brethren, the bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, to cause diligent search to be made in the archives of their churches for the genuine text of the Nicene decrees, of which they must doubtless be in possession. But for the present, and with a view to avoid needless discussion, as well as to give proof of their reverence for the Roman church, they would abstain from impugning the validity of the alleged canons, until the result of the inquiry on both sides should be before them; at the same time they signified their firm determination to be bound by no other text of the decrees in question than that which should be authenticated by some unquestionable record of the proceedings of the Nicene fathers.[l]

Pope Boniface I. and the African churches.

Vexed by his disappointment, the legate moodily desired the fathers to make their own report to the pope, with the grounds of their refusal. But Zosimus had died on the 28th of December of the year 418, and the report of the Africans was delivered to his successor Boniface I. Some months

[k] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1243; *Van Espen.* tom. iii. dissert. iii. § 2.

[l] *Ibid.* ubi sup. This resolution was passed at the suggestion of St. Augustine himself.

elapsed before the new pontiff was seated firmly enough in his chair to resume the ordinary business of the pontificate.[m] The progress of the African controversy was not, however, affected by the temporary schism—to which we shall shortly have to advert—occasioned by the double election of Boniface and Eulalius; the incident need not therefore interrupt the narrative of the important transaction under review. Awaiting the replies from the East, the Sardican canons were entered upon the minutes of the council as the decrees of the council of Nicæa, but subject to verification as directed by the last resolution of the synod.[n] On the 25th of May 419 the African prelates held their semestral council at Carthage.[o] The legate Faustinus was present, and renewed his demands in the name of the holy see. The instructions of Zosimus were again read, and a second time the synod—including now among its numbers the venerable name of Augustine of Hippo—declared its resolution to abide by the genuine regulations of the Nicene fathers when verified in the manner proposed in the preceding year.[p] A fresh search in their own archives had produced no other result than that which had preceded it; and the archbishop-president, Aurelius of Carthage, drew up a report of the proceedings in a tone of dignified forbearance and courtesy, repeating the grounds of their prior decision; urging pope Boniface to expedite the requisite search on his part, and admonishing him, that if the African copies of the Nicene decrees should be found correct, he, the pope of Rome, was as much bound by them as his brother bishops all over the world. He informed Boniface that, in consequence of the conversion and retractation of the schismatic presbyter Apiarius, and his absolution by his own bishop, the cause was virtually at an end: no ques-

[m] The interregnum lasted from the 28th Dec. 418 to the 3d April 419.

[n] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 943.

[o] These African councils are involved in almost inextricable confusion as to their dates. This is owing probably to the several sessions or semestral meetings having been allowed to run into one another without regard to the order of time or titles by which their sequence might be determined. *Baronius'* chronology is often defective; but *Pagi's* corrections afford considerable assistance. The "Art de vérifier les Dates" is in this respect a very valuable work.

[p] See the synodal letter to pope Boniface I., ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 919, in Cod. Canon. Eccles. Afric. no. cxxxiv.

tion therefore remained upon that point; and as to the rest, nothing more could now be done till the verification of the decrees should arrive.[q]

Disposition of the African churches.

Hitherto the language of the African churches had been clear and firm, yet modest even to humility. They had fully admitted the right of the bishop of Rome—as they would probably have allowed that of any other bishop—to insist upon the observance of ecclesiastical law; but they had carefully intrenched themselves behind that law as it stood upon the codes and in the observances of their own churches. Up to this age, indeed, the duty of watching over and of enforcing the maintenance of the known laws of the Church was regarded as a matter of common concern. Clerks of all ranks, laymen of every degree, might freely lift up their voices against remiss or transgressing churches and prelates.[r] All orders of persons felt themselves at liberty to address, admonish, exhort the most exalted of the hierarchy without impediment or risk of rebuke. And though Rome, in virtue of the chair of Peter, stood in this respect on the highest ground, yet her voice was only to be listened to when she spoke the language of the law. Even the partial submission of the African churches operated as a practical negative upon the pretensions of Rome, as expressed in the instructions of Zosimus to Faustinus. They had, as we have seen, some time since passed a resolution prohibiting appeals beyond sea;[s] yet they were now told, on the reverend authority of the bishop of Rome, fortified by the supposed canons of an œcumenical council, that such an ordinance was at variance with the laws of the Church. Their reply was in substance this: "If the law you allege be true and genuine, we submit; but it is your duty to convince us that so it is, or we shall abide by the positive precepts contained in our own authentic records."

[q] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 939.

[r] Thus Jerome, though a simple presbyter—nay, even his female pupil Marcella—held themselves at liberty to admonish bishops, and to put the law-Christian in motion against the supposed errors of Ruffinus and the Origenists. See Book II. c. i. p. 269, note (s).

[s] See Book II. c. i. p. 289.

Grounds of the attachment of the Africans to Rome.

While the four points of Faustinus remained thus hung up, the Africans scrupulously abstained from any pretensions that might further endanger their connection with Rome. The leading men among them—Augustine in particular—rejoiced in the communion of the Petrine see: he felt consolation and support in that church, to which he traced the inestimable boon of gospel truth to the land of his birth and affections: he leaned upon the chair of Peter as the living representative of that external visible unity upon which he believed the outward fabric of the Church to depend. Neither is it a matter of surprise that, amid the anarchy of religious opinion—amid the universal corruption of morals,[1] the feebleness of government, and the manifest impotency of laws, civil or ecclesiastical, to repress and punish the vices and irregularities alike of laity and clergy—the ruling prelates should have looked about them for some firmer fulcrum of authority than the loose oligarchical coherence of the churches among themselves could afford. Yet, however strong the current of opinion in favour of the Roman connection, it is obvious that the African churches had not as yet conceived the idea of a power inherent in the chair of Peter to exercise any proper jurisdiction within their domestic competency; nor, in fact, to do any act in furtherance of ecclesiastical discipline not recognised by the existing laws of the Church; much less could they admit a right to add to, or engraft upon those laws any matter or thing not therein expressed or implied. Nor should it be forgotten that, up to this point of time, the Church-catholic was totally unprovided with any outward authority or working machinery for carrying its decrees into execution. The civil power was, in all cases of general legislation, the only refuge from absolute impotency. This humiliating reflection impelled the high-minded churchmen of the age not only to insist upon a severer observance of the law-spiritual, but to draw more closely around that central authority to which alone they could look for efficient executive support amid the dangers and

[1] See the description of the state of Africa ap. *Procop.* de Bell. Vandal. lib. i.

difficulties which were thickening around them. Though, therefore, they had as yet entertained no thought of abandoning their ancient diocesan and provincial privileges, they were generally ready to listen with reverence and respect whenever Rome thought fit to exercise her admitted right to set the law-Christian in motion against ecclesiastical offenders.

Augustine and Boniface in the cause of Antony of Fussalis.

To the serious vexation of Augustine, the truce—if it may be so called—between the Roman and African churches was not allowed to expire without a short episodic disturbance. At the request of the people of Fussalis, a borough in the diocese or parish (*parœchia*) of Hippo, Augustine had rather inadvertently appointed a young clerk named Antonius to be the local bishop of the place. But ere long the new bishop gave occasion for complaints of incontinence, extortion, and rapine. Upon these charges he was arraigned before a synod of the Numidian church, at which Augustine himself presided, found guilty, and sentenced to suspension from episcopal offices within his parish, but permitted to retain the rank and title of bishop. But Antony took exception to the sentence, upon the grounds that if he were deemed unfit to govern his church, he ought not to be a bishop at all; while, on the other hand, if he was thought qualified to retain the name and functions of a bishop in the church, he could not be deprived of the see by the possession of which alone he held that title. Upon these pleas he carried his complaint before pope Boniface I. The latter entertained the appeal; but finally referred it back to the Africans with injunctions to reexamine the cause, and to reinstate the appellant, if upon further hearing he should adhere to his pleas. To this mandate Augustine replied, in the name of the Numidian church, that it was both unreasonable in itself and contrary to ecclesiastical practice that there should not be in the case of a bishop, as there was in every other, a power to inflict minor penalties; but that, without regard to mitigating circumstances, the ecclesiastical judge should be driven in all cases to extreme punishments: but, besides this, the sen-

tence against Antony was justified by precedents which the pope would upon inquiry find to have occurred within his own jurisdiction, or which had been approved by his own predecessors.[u] Not long afterwards, however, it was reported to Augustine that pope Cœlestine, the successor of Boniface I., had despatched officers (*executores*) from Rome with peremptory orders to reinstate Antony by pontifical authority. The bishop of Hippo protested loudly against this arbitrary proceeding. He implored the pope "by the blood of Christ and the memory of the blessed Peter, the monitor and example to all rulers of the Christian people, to send no such emissaries among them to lord it over the brethren." And he declared that if he be doomed to see the malefactor, whom his own indiscretion had enabled to do so much mischief in the church, replaced in a position to commit still greater ravages in the fold, he would renounce his bishopric, and retire from the service of the church he could then no longer protect.[v] How this matter terminated we are not informed. The name of Antony of Fussalis does not occur again in church-history.

Production of the genuine canons of Nicæa.

The Africans had, as we have seen, suspended their deliberations upon the demands of Faustinus on the ground that if conceded they would have the effect of introducing a judicature unknown to the law of the Church as it stood on their own records; and had declined to come to any decision on those demands until they should be satisfied of their error

[u] *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 77. The cardinal proposes to read the passage in Augustine's letter to the pope, as if *all such cases* had been decided upon *appeal* to Rome, therefore as precedents resting upon the general powers of the Petrine see. The words are: "Existat exemplo, ipsâ sede apostolicâ judicante, vel aliorum adjudicata firmante, quosdam pro culpis quibusdam, nec episcopatûs spoliatos honore, nec relictos omnino impunitos," &c. Upon this point it may be observed, that though the words may be susceptible of the construction contended for, they are at least equally so of a different meaning. The word "judicare" is as often used to signify the act of "forming or expressing an opinion" as that of "judging or deciding judicially" upon a given state of facts. And, moreover, there is nothing in these words to lead us to suppose that the precedents in question had not occurred within the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman see, either by the adjudication of the bishop of Rome himself, or by legitimate appeal from his own suffragans or other recognised spiritual subjects.

[v] *Baron.* Ann. 424. The cardinal's dates are incorrect. These occurrences belong to the year 423, as will be seen below.

by the production of authenticated copies of the alleged decrees. But upon the return of their emissaries from Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, it was found, upon inspection of the certified transcripts of the Nicene acts they brought with them from the archives of those churches, that they corresponded accurately with their own record; consequently that the canons relied upon by the legates had no place in the genuine series.[w] For this, or some other cause of which we are left in ignorance, no other proceedings were taken in the cause of Apiarius till shortly after the accession of Cœlestine I. to the chair of Rome in the year 422.[x] Meanwhile, as already observed, Apiarius had withdrawn his protest, and submitted to the correction of his natural judges. But this submission had either been simulated, or had been followed by fresh offences, which had drawn upon him a second sentence: certain it is that he once more stood forth as an appellant to Rome for redress.

Cœlestine I. in the appeal of Apiarius.

As in the case of Antony of Fussalis, pope Cœlestine I. peremptorily decreed his restoration to communion and office in his own church, and sent him back to Carthage with a commission directed to Faustinus, as "executor" of the papal mandate, to carry the decree into effect. The Africans forthwith summoned a general synod of the Carthaginian, Mauritanian, and Numidian provinces, under the presidency of their primates Aurelius and Valentinus, to meet in the capital. Faustinus, either unapprised of, or determined to brave the results of the late inquiries in the East, insisted upon the validity of the spurious canons, and demanded the immediate punishment of the refractory Urbanus of Sicca, the diocesan of Apiarius. But the fathers as peremptorily rejected the alleged canons, and immediately despatched a report to the pope, in which they declined, in respectful terms, to reverse the local sentence against the appel-

Recusancy of the Africans.

[w] The verified copies are believed to have arrived in Africa about the end of November 419: but this seems too early a date, considering the distance and the slow rate of travelling in those times.

[x] *Baronius* (Ann. 423, § 8) erroneously dates the death of Boniface in the year 423 instead of 422. *Pagi*, Annot. ad loc.

lant; and they justified this resolution upon such grounds as, they trusted, would protect them against similar interferences in future. Fully admitting that mutual right of religious censure which in all past ages had existed in the Church-catholic and every branch of it, the synod took its stand upon the lawless nature of the papal demands. Faustinus, they said, had arrived among them in a character quite new to them; he had come to them, not as an assessor to help them to a right decision, but as the patron and advocate of the accused; thereby encouraging the latter to claim his restoration to communion, not on the ground of innocence—for *that* he had never yet attempted to establish—but upon the authority of an alleged privilege of the holy see. Again, since his appeal he had voluntarily confessed the truth of the charges preferred against him, and had thrown himself upon the mercy of his judges; thus all cause of complaint against his own bishop, or the adjudication of the synod, had been removed, and every pretence for further interference obviated. But moreover, if on the merits of the case itself the pope had no ground to stand upon, his interference was still less justifiable upon that of positive law; for it could not but be known to pope Cœlestine that the whole question had been settled by the fathers of Nicæa; they had in express terms decreed that those whom the bishops should have suspended from communion could only be restored by the provincial synods thereby appointed to receive and adjudicate upon their appeal: and *this*, in order that it might in the first place appear that no one had ever been excommunicated without due deliberation and ample opportunity for defence; and in the next, that all pretence for vexatious interferences with the jurisdiction of the bishops in their respective parishes might be taken away.[y] The fathers of Nicæa, they further alleged, had already provided a sufficient remedy in all cases of the nature of that before them; they had established courts of appeal to take in hand and finally determine every matter or suit on the spot where it arose; it was not therefore to be presumed

[y] See the v^th canon of Nicæa, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 325.

that from such a tribunal the grace of the Holy Spirit would be withheld, or that justice would be less wisely and indifferently dispensed than by a person or a council unknown to the law;—unless, indeed, there were any one bold enough to maintain that God would *endow any such single person or council with a special capacity to sit in judgment,* yet deny the like qualification to a numerous assembly of bishops convoked in solemn metropolitan synod. Moreover, such a tribunal would be useless; for, besides other inconveniences, the requisite witnesses who, from age or infirmities, could not travel to a distance, would be unable to attend. "And again (they ask), where is it written in the fathers, that your holiness is entitled to send to us legates *à latere* to execute your commands? The ordinances presented to us by your legate Faustinus as part and parcel of the Nicene decrees have no place in the authentic codes drawn from the archives of our brethren of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. Yet you knew of these records; for they were forwarded to your predecessor Boniface by the same messengers who brought them to us. Therefore abstain, we beseech you, for the future from sending to us, either of your own mere motion, or at the suggestion of any one else, any more of your executive emissaries,[z] lest we should thereby become accomplices in the introduction of that soul-darkening spirit of conceit and pride of this world into the Church of Christ, which rather inculcates simplicity and humility in all who (with us) await the day of the coming of the Lord. Now, as to our brother Faustinus—we having once for all removed the sinner Apiarius from our church—we trust in the probity and forbearance of your holiness that you will no longer permit him to remain in Africa."[a]

[z] ἐκβιβαστὰς κληρικούς—executores clerici—terms probably equivalent to that of *legate à latere* in the mind of the Africans. The "executor" appears to have been an officer whose duty it was to compel obedience to the papal decretals. It is probable that he was the ordinary officer of the Roman patriarch to execute his orders within the provinciæ suburbicariæ, and that his jurisdiction was now extended, under the name of legate à latere, to foreign churches. *Du Cange*, Gloss. ad v. "Executor."

[a] See the entire document, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 947. Conf. *Centur. Magdeb.* cent. v. p. 869; and *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 584. See Appendix A at the end of this Book, upon the

Papal policy; growth of the Roman prerogative.

Of the sequel of this transaction we have no trustworthy account.[b] The general conduct and the language of pope Cœlestine are throughout uniform and consistent. In the year 427 the archbishop of Thessalonica was reappointed by that pontiff vicar and "executor" of the holy see for the great diocese of Illyricum Orientale.[c] In the following year Cœlestine wrote to the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne, vehemently reprehending certain ceremonial usages or abuses prevalent in their provinces, though all of them matters falling within the ordinary competency of the local authorities. "Inasmuch," he writes, "as I am appointed by God to watch over his whole Church, it is my duty every where to root out evil practices, and to substitute *good ones;* for my pastoral superintendence *is restrained by no bounds,* but extends to all places where the name of Christ is known and adored."[d] This language was, as far as our information goes, listened to by the Gallic churches without a whisper of disapprobation. It may be conjectured that those churches understood the general pastoral superintendence claimed by the pope to be, though of a higher authority, yet of the same character as that mutual right of watchful censure acknowledged to reside in all churches. The Africans had, as we have seen, dealt with the same claim exactly in the like sense. They had therefore repudiated that executive authority with which Cœlestine and his predecessor had endeavoured to connect his acknowledged pastoral powers. The demeanour of Proculus of Marseilles, and his colleagues of Vienne and Narbonne, when assailed by Zosimus,[e] indicates a similar sense of the limits of the Roman

introduction of the Sardican canons into the Roman codex of the acts of the Nicene council.

[b] The letter of pope Boniface II. (A.D. 530) found in the Isidorian collection, which affirms that Aurelius of Carthage, and the African bishops of this council, had been severed from the Roman communion since the times of Boniface I. and Cœlestine I., and that they had been subsequently restored upon repentance and acknowledgment of their error, is admitted on all hands to be a forgery. *Van Espen*, tom. iii. p. 473.

[c] *Pagi*, ap. Baron. Ann. 418; notes 75, 76 from *Holstenius'* Collect. Rom.

[d] *Bower*, vol. i. p. 383, quoting from *Holstenius'* Coll. Rom. pp. 85-87. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 428, §§ 17, 18; *Fleury*, tom. v. p. 628. By the words "good customs" is almost universally meant the customs of the Roman church.

[e] See p. 298 of this chapter.

authority, and a disinclination to abandon their right to settle their domestic disputes among themselves. Rome had, on the other hand, by this time not only broadly asserted her right of universal censure, but claimed to enforce that right by executive officers of her own, furnished with commissions independent of all local jurisdictions, and subversive of every opposing judicature in the Church-catholic. This bold policy was beyond doubt founded upon an instinctive perception of the absence of any well-defined constitutional system in the great body of the hierarchy—a defect which obviated all combined resistance to the pretensions of the chair of Peter. The theory of that chair could have made but little progress if the oligarchical opposition had possessed within itself any principle of political coherence. As it was, the advances of Rome could only be met by unconnected and occasional resistance, when her language or her pretensions excited unusual dissatisfaction or alarm. The ecclesiastical oligarchs never understood their position in the church-system: Rome clearly comprehended her own, and improved it by a series of gradual advances upon the liberties of the rest, which always appeared as the natural results of her own acknowledged position, and of that representative character which had struck such profound root in the public opinion of Christendom.

The pontifical vicariate.

We could hardly select a more striking illustration of this gradual process of encroachment than the steps taken by successive bishops of Rome, from the age of Damasus, for the establishment of permanent courts of appeal and general supervision in provinces far distant from and beyond the limits of their own domestic jurisdiction. The attention of the reader has already been drawn to the appointment by that pontiff of Acholius archbishop of Thessalonica as *vicar* of the holy see in the diocese of Illyricum Orientale.[f] Acholius was succeeded in that office by archbishop Anysius upon the appointment of bishop Siricius. The same prelate was confirmed in that office by popes Anastasius and Innocent I. By the terms of the commission these suc-

[f] Book II. c. i. p. 259.

cessive pontiffs granted to their vicars, *first*, the exclusive right to ordain all bishops within the diocese, annulling all ordinations not performed or sanctioned by them; *secondly*, the power of evoking to their own judicature in the last resort all spiritual suits or disputes arising within their respective vicariates; *thirdly*, a power to try and adjudicate, as delegates of the holy see, upon all such causes as the pope might from time to time reserve for his own decision. These powers were continued by Innocent I. to Rufus the successor of Anysius; on which occasion that pontiff took upon himself to set out the limits of the diocese, and to enumerate the provinces and churches committed to his management: he devolved the government of all these churches upon the new vicar as the lieutenant or delegate of the Roman pontiff; with injunction to permit no one to approach the holy see without his sanction, and finally to determine all causes and appeals except such as he might think it expedient to reserve and send to Rome for adjudication there. At the same time Innocent superseded the ordinary metropolitan rights of the archbishop-primate of Illyricum by the grant of a special commission *from the holy see* to convoke extraordinary synods of the diocese whenever any cases might arise requiring immediate attention.[g] Pope Cœlestine I., as already stated, renewed the vicarial commission to Rufus. Some years prior to these transactions we have found pope Zosimus introducing the vicariate into the provinces of Gallia Narbonensis, with a grant of powers closely corresponding with that conferred upon the Illyrian primate.[h]

Drift and objects of the vicariate.

The establishment of these courts of appeal and general supervision answered three very important purposes: *first*, they cast a veil over the statute and common law of the Church

[g] All such powers were within the *ordinary* competency of all primates: the special grant could therefore answer no other purpose than silently to substitute the authority of the pope for the statute and common-law rights of the metropolitans. *Pagi* observes with *naïveté* that "the Roman pontiffs always followed this practice in all subsequent ages." No doubt they did, or the practice would not have had the effect of converting the aboriginal evasion of the metropolitan rights into a *custom*. *Pagi*, ex Holsten.; et Baluz. Annott. ad *Baron.* Ann. 418, nos. 75-77.

[h] See p. 299 of this chapter.

as it stood upon the canons and customs hitherto observed, by superseding ecclesiastical legislation, general or provincial, in favour of Roman exposition or innovation: *secondly*, they greatly enlarged the papal jurisdiction by encouraging and facilitating appeals, and by withdrawing the attention of injured or discontented prelates and clergy from the domestic tribunals, and fixing it upon Rome: *thirdly*, they promoted the transmission of intelligence to the papal head-quarters, and enabled the pontiffs to take prompt advantage of every opportunity for further interferences in the domestic management of foreign churches, of dividing or combining parties, of composing or inflaming dissensions, as might best suit the individual character or political views of the reigning pontiff. Such opportunities can never be safely placed within the grasp of man, whether he be priest or king to whom the sore temptation is presented.

Domestic affairs of the Roman church.

Reverting to the domestic affairs of the Roman church during the pontificates of Boniface I. and Cœlestine I., we observe that the conflict between Damasus and his rival Ursinus has its parallel in that which, after the death of Zosimus in the year 418, arose between Boniface and his competitor Eulalius. In both cases the incidents are equally vulgar, and would be unattractive but for the interest we must always take in the moral character and demeanour of the aspirants to spiritual powers so far transcending all earthly dominion in comprehensiveness and importance. The class-character of the rulers by whom the government of the world, temporal or spiritual, is conducted, can never be regarded as an immaterial consideration. However strong our prepossessions in favour of established government, it cannot be contended that the *right* to govern is wholly independent of the *fitness* to govern. It is a difficult problem to determine how far the good and the evil principle may dwell together in the same temple without pollution to its services; but when they who claim official exemption from error personally fall

into the depths of human depravity, it is an offence to common sense as well as to religion to allege a theoretical immunity in favour of a "right divine to govern wrong."[i]

Religious faction in Rome; Boniface and Eulalius.

After the death of Zosimus, two candidates for the vacant chair appeared in the field. The popular presbyter Bonifacius was chosen by the majority in point of numbers; but at the same time—it may be somewhat earlier—Eulalius, archdeacon of the Roman church, was declared pope in the usual form, and at the customary place of election, by an influential party among the Roman clergy. Symmachus, the prætorian præfect, reported to the emperor Honorius, then residing at Ravenna, in favour of Eulalius, notifying at the same time the severe measures he had been compelled to adopt for the maintenance of the public peace, endangered by the violence of the party of Bonifacius. The præfect placed the decision between the rivals, *as of right*, in the discretion of the emperor.[j] The remembrance of the sanguinary disorders which followed the contested election of Damasus was still alive in the memory of the government. Upon the report of Symmachus, therefore, Honorius hastened to confirm the election of Eulalius, and to direct the immediate expulsion of Boniface from the city upon the slightest hesitation on his part to obey the imperial mandate.[k] Boniface and his friends then retired to the church of St. Paul without the walls; the gates of the city were closed against them; and Eulalius was peaceably enthroned in the church of St. Peter, where he performed the usual inauguration-services without

Rejection of Boniface.

[i] There is here no misunderstanding of the papal principle of impeccability. The presumption always must be, that the official acts of evil-minded men will correspond with their personal character. The theory of perpetual illumination lies far beyond the purview of history. We satisfy ourselves with our Master's tests—"By their fruits shall ye know them." "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down," &c.

[j] "Et quoniam pietatis *vestræ est* de hâc parte *referre judicium*," &c. See the report, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 418, § 80. The cardinal, however, stoutly contends that the emperor interfered only as the *organ of the Church*, and not as the *judge* of the merits of the election.

[k] The rescript regards the *quality* of the electors, the *formalities* observed, and the *place* of election, as decisive in favour of Eulalius. *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 2.

any of the ordinary popular commotions or interruptions.[l]

But Boniface and his party kept possession of the church of St. Paul without the walls, and replied to the imperial decision by administering a sound beating to the messenger who conveyed the announcement of his rejection. On the same day he headed a mob of his partisans, and made an unsuccessful attempt to force his way into the city. Disappointed of accomplishing his purpose by violence, his supporters resolved to memorialise the emperor Honorius. In their petition they claimed for their candidate all the merits of majority of suffrage, priority of time, superiority of learning, purity of life and conversation, and accurate compliance with the required forms—excepting that of place, which deficiency they excused on the ground of their illegal exclusion by the opposite party—and, in the last place, they complained bitterly of the false charges preferred against them by the præfect Symmachus. The petitioners concluded with a prayer that the emperor would be pleased to reverse his decision, or summon both Boniface and the intruder Eulalius into his presence, where they pledged themselves not only to confront their enemy, but to produce conclusive proof that his attempt to intrude himself upon the holy see was a flagrant violation of all law, both human and divine.[m] Memorial of Boniface.

Honorius so far complied with the petition as to grant a rehearing of the cause before himself and a court composed of a committee of bishops of his own choice; and Symmachus was commanded to send the competitors to Ravenna, together with all witnesses required on both sides to substantiate their respective claims. Symmachus in reply warned the court that no reliance could be placed upon the veracity or honesty of either party or their witnesses,[n] and took care to transmit, with his report of the service of the im- Honorius directs a new trial.

[l] "Clementiæ vestræ ascribendum est, res *novi exempli et maximæ contentionis magnique certaminis*, ut sine commotione populi cœpta fuerat." So the report of Symmachus to Honorius of the proceeding, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 5.

[m] See the Memorial ap. *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 9.

[n] *Ibid.* Ann. 419, § 12.

perial citation upon both parties, accurate minutes of all that had passed in the several conferences he had held with the respective chiefs. Honorius consented, with perfect fairness, to exclude from the court of triers all bishops or others who had taken any active part on either side; and he confined the inquiry to the single question which of the two elections was in stricter conformity with the canons and usages of the church. Both competitors were, however, absolutely prohibited from entering the city pending the inquiry; and an ordinance was published, that if, before judgment given, either candidate should intrude himself within the walls of Rome, he should be deemed to have forfeited his claim and be condemned as a usurper.[o] But it appeared at the earlier meetings of the court that so great a diversity of opinion existed upon the canonical merits of the two elections, that a speedy decision was not to be expected. In the interim, therefore, Honorius renewed his injunctions upon both parties to avoid the city until after the approaching Easter festival; and in the mean time appointed Achilles bishop of Spoletum to perform the sacred offices of the season at Rome: the civil magistrates were commanded to neglect no precaution for the maintenance of the public peace; and the bishop-vicar, the senate, and the people were strictly enjoined to abstain during that sacred season from all discussion or conversation tending to revive a dispute now in the hands of the proper ecclesiastical judges.[p]

Issue of the contest.

Meanwhile Honorius, disappointed in his hopes of a speedy settlement of a question involving serious danger to the public interests, endeavoured to procure the assistance or the mediation of the most distinguished churchmen of the age. He implored the saintly Paulinus bishop of Nola to set aside every personal consideration and hasten to the rescue of the holy see; he wrote to the bishops of Africa, summoning them to bear their part in the labour of love; and lastly, he appointed a general assembly of all the prelates cited to

[o] *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 33.

[p] See the documents *in extenso*, as collected by *Baron.* Ann. 419, §§ 14-17.

meet at the city of Spoletum on the first day of June 419, to decide the claims of the two candidates.[q] But the indiscretion or the ignorance of Eulalius happily relieved him and the council from all further trouble. Either trusting to the influence of his party to bear him harmless, or in ignorance of the decree of exclusion, Eulalius entered Rome at midday on the 18th March[r] with the intention of performing the paschal services as pontiff. On the same day Achilles the bishop-vicar announced his appointment to perform those duties to the præfect. The latter had, it appears, had no notice of the appointment, and was much surprised at the intimation. Achilles, having on the same day made an attempt to enter the city, was rudely repulsed by a mob apparently belonging to the Bonifacian party. With a view to pacify both factions, and to dissuade the multitude on either side from a breach of the peace, and to induce them to submit to the imperial commands, Symmachus called a public meeting of the citizens, and proclaimed the decree of exclusion and the appointment of the bishop-vicar. The Eulalians attended the meeting unarmed; the adherents of Boniface, consisting, it is said, for the most part of slaves and rabble, came prepared for mischief. An attack upon the defenceless Eulalians immediately began; stones were thrown, javelins were hurled, and swords were drawn. The præfect, his officers, and council, barely escaped with their lives; but little blood was spilt: Eulalius and his party retired to their headquarters, and succeeded in maintaining themselves within the walls. Meanwhile Symmachus, destitute of instructions from the court, anxiously applied for directions how to proceed in this dilemma. He represented the serious danger of the city, and the probable occurrence of more

Civil war in Rome.

[q] A special circular was sent to Aurelius bishop of Carthage, Augustine of Hippo, and the bishops of the African præfecture, requiring their attendance. *Baron.* eod. ann. § 22. There are expressions in these letters which sufficiently express the dissatisfaction of the court with both parties, and the profound apprehension entertained of some sanguinary outbreak of popular fanaticism. It is, upon the whole, tolerably clear that Honorius and his court cared very little for the right or the wrong in the cause, and that any accident that might save further trouble would be welcome.

[r] Easter Sunday in the year 419 fell upon the 30th March.

sanguinary riots upon the nearer approach of Easter, unless he should speedily receive precise and definite orders how to deal with the contending factions as well as with the bishop-vicar. Honorius promptly availed himself of the opportunity—or the pretext—with which the indiscretion of the Eulalians had furnished him to escape the difficulty and danger of a decision. He commanded Symmachus without delay to drive Eulalius out of the city; his disobedience of the imperial prohibition and of the decree of the synod must, he said, stamp him as the author and beginner of the late riots: unless immediately expelled, he would no doubt become the occasion or the instigator of all the mischief and bloodshed which must in all probability ensue: no excuse should be admitted to delay his expulsion: all persons communicating with him, whether clergy or laity, were to be visited with the extreme penalties of the law applicable to their respective conditions: the church of the Lateran was to be put into the exclusive possession of the bishop-vicar; and all magistrates and others intrusted with the maintenance of the public peace who should be convicted of supineness or want of activity and vigilance in the suppression of popular commotions were to suffer capital punishment.[s]

Expulsion of Eulalius; Boniface pope.

Symmachus hastened to carry these instructions into execution. By great exertions on the part of the magistracy and military the active resistance of the Eulalians was at length overcome; Eulalius and his faction were compelled to evacuate the city, and the bishop-vicar was put into possession of the Lateran. The emperor lost no time in pronouncing the forfeiture of Eulalius for his contempt of an order of which he was probably ignorant,[t] and Symmachus was commanded to admit Boniface into the city as the legitimate pontiff. The gates were forthwith thrown open to the successful candidate; Boniface was received with open arms by the præfect and his own sup-

[s] See the rescript ap. *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 33.

[t] If Symmachus the præfect knew nothing about it, the probability is strong that the leaders of both factions were equally ignorant.

porters; and his adversaries quitted the field without any further attempt to disturb the public peace.

The cause of pope Boniface I. was not decided upon its intrinsic merits, but simply upon the error of his competitor. It is equally clear that his success was mainly owing to the numerical strength of his party, and his own credit at court. The feeble government of Honorius troubled itself little about the merits of the election, provided the public peace could be maintained; and the popularity of Boniface was probably the true motive for the decision in his favour. At the same time, the act itself was regarded and described as the act of the emperor.[u] The proposed synod at Spoletum was countermanded, the bishops summoned were discharged from their attendance, and the title of Boniface to the pontifical chair was allowed to rest upon the equivocal merits of a contested election.[v] Boniface himself was so strongly impressed with the dangers and inconveniences incident to proceedings of the tumultuary character of that to which he owed his seat, that he earnestly recommended the subject to the attention of the emperor, upon whom, as he observed, the duty of providing the remedy properly devolved, *as the temporal guardian of the interests of religion.* In compliance with this request, Honorius issued an ordinance: in the *first* place strictly prohibiting all canvassing or solicitation for the vacant chair; *secondly,* ordering that if in future any such double election as that which had recently taken place should recur, neither candidate should be eligible for the chair; and *thirdly,* that no candidate should be regarded as duly elected who should not, freely and without solicitation, obtain the suffrages of the

Merits of the election.

Imperial law of election.

[u] "Bonifacium urbis Romæ episcopum firmavit *clementia principalis.*" See the epistle of the proconsul Largus to the African churches, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 419, § 37. The word "firmare" may be used in the sense of "to establish" or "settle," as well as in that of "to confirm or ratify."

[v] Conf. Letters of Honorius to the African proconsul Largus, ap. *Baron.* ubi sup. § 36; and those of the latter to the prelates of his province, § 37. The cardinal endeavours to escape the difficulty by quoting a passage in the "Liber Pontificalis," in which it is said that Eulalius was deposed by a synod composed of 242 bishops; a statement irreconcilable with the contemporary records before us.

qualified clergy, ratified by the consent of the whole community.[w]

Pope Boniface I. died on the 4th September 422.[x] The faction of Eulalius survives. The friends of Eulalius made a feeble effort to bring their chief once more into the field; but the popular party carried the election of Cœlestine I. without any material disturbance. The late pretender is said to have died in Campania the year after his successful rival.[y] During his lifetime, and probably some years after his death, the conscientious supporters of his legitimacy refused to acknowledge a successor, and declined communion with the reigning pontiff.[z] The emperor Honorius died within the first year of the new pontificate. His demise was the signal for a short-lived revolution in the government of the western empire. John, the *primicerius*, or chief secretary of Honorius, seated himself upon the throne of Ravenna. The uncertainty of the law of election—a defect clinging equally to the imperial and the pontifical successions—must raise a doubt as to the propriety of stigmatising John as a usurper. The clergy, however, felt no difficulty in deciding against his claim to the throne. He offended them by the reduction or abolition of their personal exemptions and franchises, in particular by subjecting them to secular jurisdiction; but perhaps still more unpardonably by an imprudent relaxation of those severities against heretics and schismatics in which the zeal and piety of the age delighted to display itself. John, therefore, was permanently fixed with the name and character of "tyrant" and "usurper;" and within twenty months of his accession fell a victim

Usurpation and downfall of John the primicerius.

[w] Ep. Bonif. Pap. ad Honor. and the imperial rescript, ap. *Baron.* (ex Cod. Vatic.) Ann. 419, §§ 39, 40, 41. The cardinal (§ 42) bestows a grim smile upon the Magdeburg Centuriators, or "Novatores," as he invariably calls them, for audaciously maintaining the legitimacy of the election of Eulalius. I should not be willing to back them; yet I cannot but think that it would greatly puzzle the censor himself to sustain that of Boniface without the aid of the imperial support.

[x] *Baronius*, upon the faith of the slovenly chronicle of Prosper and Marcellinus, places the death of Boniface a whole year later. *Pagi* corrects the error.

[y] *Baron.* Ann. 423, § 8, quotes the Liber Pontificalis; the notice, however, is not very clear.

[z] See the edict of Valentin. III., *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. v. l. 62, cum comm. Gothof. tom. vi. p. 204.

much more to domestic intrigue and treachery than to the military promptitude of the eastern emperor Theodosius II. In the year 425 that prince proclaimed his nephew Valentinian—son of his sister Placidia, the widow of Constantine, late colleague of Honorius—emperor of the West, under the guardianship of his mother. The empress-regent hastened to erase the footprints of the "tyrant" John; and in the name of her son issued severe ordinances against all heretics and schismatics, but more especially against the Eulalians, banishing them to the distance of one hundred millia from Rome, unless they should, within the term of twenty days, return to the communion of the reigning pontiff.[a] The privileges and immunities of which the clergy had been despoiled by the "usurper"—more particularly their exemption from secular jurisdiction—were restored to them; and all ecclesiastical causes were definitively consigned to the episcopal judicature, or "episcopalis audientia;" "for"—thus the edict runs—"it is not lawful that the minister of the divine offices should be liable to the judgment of the temporal power."[b]

Valentinian II. emperor.

Edicts against heretics and schismatics.

[a] *Cod. Theod.* Gothof. as in the preceding note.

[b] *Ibid.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. l. 47, cum comm. *Gothof.* tom. vi. p. 104.

CHAPTER III.

NESTORIAN PERIOD.

Dismemberment of the western empire—Causes of decay—Corruption of the government—Ascendency of the Church over the State—Policy of the Church—Nestorius assails the "Theotokos"—His theory of the incarnation—Nestorius and Cyril on the "Theotokos"—Fanaticism of controversy—Cyril against Nestorius—Rome in the quarrel of Cyril and Nestorius—Pope Cœlestine excommunicates Nestorius—Cyril the agent of Rome—Nestorius and John patriarch of Antioch—Cyril and his faction demand a general council—Convocation of a general council at Ephesus—Assembling and composition of the council—Instructions of pope Cœlestine I. to his legates—Cyril in the council—Candidianus imperial commissioner—Protests against the opening of the council—Nestorius summoned—Mutual excommunications—Proceedings of the Egypto-Roman synod—Organic demerits of the Ephesine synod—The papal policy—Deposition and exile of Nestorius.

Dismemberment of the western empire.

WITHIN the period of time extending over the five pontificates of Innocent I., Zosimus, Boniface I., Cœlestine I., and Sixtus III.,—a term of thirty-eight years (A.D. 402-440),—the western empire had undergone an almost unresisted dismemberment by tribes of Teutonic and Scythian origin. Italy had been ravaged from the Alps to the Straits of Messina by the Visigoths, under Alaric and Ataulph; imperial Rome herself had passed under the barbarian yoke (A.D. 410); Gaul was partially occupied by Gothic, Allemannic, Frankish, and Burgundian tribes; Spain was shared by Visigoths, Vandals, and Suevi; and in the year 428, favoured by official treachery and administrative corruption, the Numidian and Mauritanian provinces of Africa were overrun and colonised by the Vandalic prince Genseric, and a mixed horde of barbarian

subjects and allies.[a] The immediate overthrow of the entire fabric of the western empire was delayed chiefly by three circumstances, wholly independent of any power or energy of the government or the people to provide for their own defence. In the *first* place, the numbers of the invaders were inadequate to the permanent occupation of the conquered territory; in the *second*, the restless and migratory character of the victorious tribes was unfavourable to colonisation or settled inhabitancy; and in the *third*, from the combined operation of both these circumstances, they were generally found ready to avail themselves, in one way or another, of that wealth which a long-established and thoroughly well-organised system of fiscal extortion still enabled the government to offer, sometimes in the shape of pay and stipend, at others in that of bribes to induce them to shift their quarters to a safer distance from the sovereign and his court.

Causes of decay.

The original causes of that strange decrepitude, that indescribable feebleness of heart and of head, under which the empire was fast melting away, were chiefly the following:—All the powers of the state had become centred in a single irresponsible and despotic chief; every trace of the original constitution and principles of government was obliterated from the memory of the subject; all public spirit was extinct; the army of the state, weakened and broken into incoherency by the jealousy of despotism, was now almost wholly recruited by foreign mercenaries, who entered the service rather with a view to plunder than to protect their employers; a cramping and benumbing system of taxation had banished industry from the towns and agricultural districts; extortion, peculation, cabal, calumny, delation, pervaded every department of the government; while unbounded dissoluteness of manners polluted the palaces of the sovereign and the mansions of the opulent; the magistracy was chosen by venal solicitation and court-intrigue, without regard to services or merit, except when services or

[a] See the vivid picture of the hopeless state of the African provinces at this period drawn by Salvian of Marseilles, as quoted at length by *Baronius*, Ann. 428, §§ 2, 3, 4.

merit came recommended by the power to enforce their own claims; the ministers of the sovereign were chosen from the cohort of companions in vice, flatterers and panderers, eunuchs and slaves, by which he was surrounded; expensive pageants and abject ceremonials dazzled the people, and fed the puerile vanity of the prince and his court; the army was kept in good humour, and the populace of the capital cajoled by gratuitous supplies of provisions, by largesses and shows; and thus the cost of government was increased as the means of supply dwindled away.

Corruption of the government.

While the leaven of decay was thus spreading from the heart to the extremities of the political body, almost every province of the empire was, in its turn, invaded, ravaged, and depopulated by the barbarian enemy. When the foe retired, the swarms of imperial extortioners returned to carry off by systematic spoliation twofold more than the most rapacious invader could have amassed. Without carrying to account the pretty frequent occurrence of pestilence and famine, the sum of the public calamities was swelled by civil dissensions and struggles for the imperial diadem. As usual, the people paid with their life-blood, moral and physical, for the ambition and folly of their rulers. The periods of public tranquillity were rare; and when they occurred, may be traced rather to the exhaustion than to the vigour or wisdom of contending parties; and in the end served but to improve and strengthen that degrading scheme of administrative tyranny under which the public confidence, wealth, morals, and population, were gradually sinking into irretrievable ruin.[b]

Ascendency of the Church over the State.

In this state of moral and social self-abandonment, every remnant of learning, philosophy and religion took refuge in the Church; for, in truth, no other refuge was left to them. All that was respectable in character or consistent in conduct—all who acknowledged any principle or precept as a rule of life—sought an asylum and the means of

[b] The two last paragraphs have been adopted with very trifling changes from a work entitled *History of the Germans* (vol. i. pp. 315, 316), published by me about twenty years ago, and as yet little known in the world of literature.

expansion within the hallowed precinct. By drawing closer the bonds of union with each other; by combination, by unity of effort, by concentration of moral energy, political foresight, and regular management, the churches had drawn to themselves all that was left of public confidence and respect. Against the fluctuating and sordid cunning of the statesmen of the day they opposed laws and principles of action; to the base and selfish interests and passions of individuals they interposed a corporate resistance; each church planted its foot firmly upon its own ground, and mingled its being and its interests with those of the lay subject in every diocese and province and city of the empire. The State itself gazed through the mists of corruption which surrounded it upon the Church with that awe and admiration which moral grandeur must always command; and instinctively recognised in her the only power which afforded a chance of support under its own self-suspected decrepitude. Wealth, immunities, and exemptions, were lavished upon the churchmen by the superstitious attachment or the apprehensions of the later emperors.[c] The monarch upon the throne cowered beneath the capricious censures of the irritable anchorite,[d] and yielded himself the passive instrument of that bitter spirit of religious intolerance which burned in every orthodox bosom.[e]

Policy of the Church.

Encouraged by a deference and veneration so far beyond their power to command by any display of physical force, the clergy by degrees became more familiar with the mystery of their vocation, and learnt how to manage the materials and the machinery of the state-spiritual with greater ease and effect. To that end, they increased the objects of religious veneration; they multiplied religious pageants; they encouraged the exhibition of images and pictures of saints in the churches; they exalted the Virgin Mary

[c] See the *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcopis, Ecclesiis, et Clericis. Valent. III. Constit. ad Armatium P. P. Gall. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1269.

[d] See such an instance of obsequious superstition in the conduct of Theodosius II., ap. *Baron.* Ann. 425, p. 249.

[e] It is unnecessary to do more than direct attention to the title "De hæreticis" in the xvith book of the Theodosian code.

to the eminence of divinity under the title of "Theotokos;" they diligently disinterred the relics of saints and martyrs; they introduced new rites and ceremonies of worship; and inculcated an extraordinary reverence for ascetic practices. At the same time they invented or adopted loftier titles of spiritual dignity;[f] borrowing a leaf out of the court-calendar, the superior clergy proposed to deal with the souls of men in much the same way as the imperial government had for ages past dealt with their bodies. To this the State could see no possible objection; the arrangement was congruous and natural, and in harmony with the theory and practice of the government.[g] The theology of the age adapted itself very closely to the state-formulæ: there could be but *one truth*, political or religious, therefore there ought to be but *one* opinion, and *one* form of words to express it: a departure from that form was equally a departure from loyalty and religious truth; and a thousand voices were ready to overwhelm with clamour—a thousand hands raised to punish—the daring speculator who should presume to deal too rudely with those consecrated formulæ.

Nestorius assails the "Theotokos." His theory of the incarnation.

But no human laws have power to fetter the multiform strugglings of the religious mind in man. Shortly after his election, Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, boldly attacked a popular object of religious veneration in the person of the Mother of our Lord, before which by this time almost the whole Christian world had bowed the knee in adoration. She was "the thrice-holy '*Theotokos*,' the '*Mother of God*;' by and through whose womb the

[f] The acts of the general councils cannot but excite a smile at the extraordinary solicitude of the fathers that the proper prelatical title should be attached to each name.

[g] That theory was shortly the following: "Sed et quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem; cum lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omne imperium suum et potestatem concedat." *Inst.* lib. i. tit. ii. § 6; *Digest.* lib. i. tit. ii. § 1; *Cod.* lib. i. tit. xiv. § 12. The bishops had adopted a form of church-government in close conformity with that rule. The kind of alliance growing out of this correspondence of principle between the Church and the State is significantly hinted in the address of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, to the emperor Theodosius II. in the first sermon he preached after his consecration: "O emperor, do thou purge the earth of heretics for *me*, and I in return will give *you* heaven. Help me in vanquishing heresy, and I will help you in vanquishing the Persians."

'Word' was made flesh and dwelt among us.[h] For in Him she bore"—said the vehement Cyril of Alexandria—"was combined substantially the God and the man: after that hypostatic union the Christ could not be divided in substance; for *that* were to hold two persons in the Christ: He is by his own nature very God, the only-begotten Son; in Him therefore there can be no *substantial* distinction between the human and the divine nature; consequently the Virgin Mary is in truth the mother—not only of the man, but—of the God Christ, the incarnate Word of the Father, which through her womb was made flesh."[i] "Not so"—exclaimed Nestorius—"for *that* were to strike away all distinction between the divine and the human nature in the Christ, or, what amounts to the same error, to cause the divine to swallow up and absorb the human: God is impassible; He cannot be affected by any thing that occurs in time, or that happens in the body; but the Christ *was* passible in that nature which He derived from the Virgin, and could therefore be God only by the mystical union wrought through the Holy Ghost, independently of and without any cooperation on the part of the human mother;[j] for by holding a hypostatic union of both natures you either lower the divine to the level of the human, and thereby fall into the error of the Apollinarists,[k] or you exalt the human to the infinite dignity of the divine, wherein all merely human attributes are necessarily swallowed up and finally eliminated."[l]

[h] Theses of Cyril of Alexandria. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1281.

[i] The twelve anathemas of Cyril, as far as they are intelligible, admit the humanity of Christ, but in a sense which is not human. The Eutychians (monophysites) made good use of this mode of presenting the subject to eliminate the human element altogether.

[j] Conf. Counter-theses or Anathemas of Nestorius. *Harduin*, Concilia, tom. i. p. 1297. Nestorius appears to have denied the hypostatical or personal union of the two natures, and to have held only a mystical and unexplained combination of the humanity and the divinity, together constituting the Christ; while, on the other hand, his adversaries, in logical consequence, though not in words, maintained the identity of the two natures, or, what was almost the same thing, the absorption of the human in the divine.

[k] The founder of this sect lived about the close of the fourth century. As far as his doctrine can be collected from *Socrates* (H. E. lib. ii. c. 46, and lib. iii. c. 16), it went to reduce the Christ to the level of man—possibly one of the earlier forms of Socinianism.

[l] And so Cyril was understood by his disciples. His statement does not perhaps amount in terms to the absorption in question; but his followers soon

Nestorius and Cyril on the "Theotokos."

The storm he had raised might perhaps have passed harmlessly over the head of Nestorius, if the dogmatic distinction he insisted upon had not been felt throughout Christendom as a death-blow to the darling object of popular worship. "God"—he maintained—"could not be lowered to the nature of the man—could not partake of the attributes of a human mother; for how could the Creator in any sense be said to be born of the creature?" "True"—rejoined his opponents—"God could not *be born* of a woman in the human sense of the word, that is, could not have *His beginning* from the Virgin's womb; but He might and He did pass through it in the form of the preexistent Logos, as the channel and medium through which He was made flesh; consequently, insomuch as the Being born of the Virgin combined in Himself the attributes both of God and man, she by whom He was so born was properly described as the 'Mother of God,' for *as God* she brought Him into the world."[m]

Fanaticism of controversy; Cyril against Nestorius.

The fanaticism of religious disputation in this stage of the intellectual history of the world would be wholly inexplicable without calling to mind that the whole activity of the human faculties was thrown into the single department of theology. With the exception of a few professors who still lingered among the heathen remnant, the teachers of philosophy identified themselves with the teachers of divinity. As in the schools of Greece, the pupils of each new teacher attached themselves to the doctrines and the forms of the school, with equal tenacity, though with a far more passionate devotion. As a divine, Cyril of Alexandria bore the sharp clear impress of his age. Revelling in mysticism; straining every nerve of a vigorous intellect to invent a form of words by which to ex-

overleaped the gap in his theory, and boldly maintained that the inferior was absorbed in the superior nature, "as a drop of water falling into the ocean."

[m] The Logos, it seems, barely *passed through* the womb of the Virgin, without contracting any part or element of her nature. This amounts pretty clearly to a denial of the human nature; for the thing born must be of the same nature with the parturient. Conf. Cyril's "Commonitorium" (Letter of instruction) to his emissary Poseidonius, whom he sent to Rome with his charges against Nestorius. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1319.

press his peculiar dogmatic scheme, which, if it failed to disentangle his subject, could hardly fail to entangle and perplex his adversaries,—he filled the Christian world with pamphlet-clamour. His emissaries bore his complaints and lamentations to Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and even to the distant Rome. "The patriarch of the second capital of the empire and of Christendom," he exclaimed, "had denied his Saviour—had dethroned his Virgin Mother—had fallen into an abyss of heresy deeper and blacker than that in which his doomed predecessors Paul of Samosata[n] and Arius had perished: let therefore every arm and every voice be raised to rescue the Church from a more deadly peril than any that had hitherto assailed her." Not a moment was, he thought, to be lost. A synod of Egyptian bishops was assembled at Alexandria; and there the sermons and writings of Nestorius were examined, and unanimously condemned. Twelve theses of orthodox faith were agreed to, and fortified by twelve solemn anathemas: missionaries went forth; monks congregated; the cities and towns of all the great dioceses of the East were made to resound with the indignant clamours of the worshippers of the great Theotokos: the indolent court of Constantinople became alarmed, and the haughty pontiff of the capital himself felt at last that he was put upon his defence.

Rome in the quarrel of Cyril and Nestorius.

Both combatants were fully sensible of the importance of obtaining the support of the great western patriarch. Cyril had sent his deacon Poseidonius direct from the Alexandrian synod to Rome with a full report of the proceedings of the council; and before Nestorius could find time to assemble his friends, and publish his twelve counter-theses, Pope Cœlestine was in full possession of the case presented by his adversary, and prepared to support that theological formula which seemed to him best to agree with the opinions of the western churches upon the great

[n] A renowned heresiarch of the third century. He was bishop of Antioch in the year 260. Paul of Samosata seems to have denied the personality of the Son of God; but the drift of his heresy is not very clear. See *Smith*, Biog. Dict. art. "Paul of Samosata."

doctrine of the incarnation.[o] Cyril wisely—or cunningly—threw himself and his cause, as it were bodily, into the hands of the pope. Nestorius found himself forestalled by the activity of his opponent, and haughtily demanded of Cœlestine the names and qualities of those obscure persons who, under the designation of bishops sent from the West, had presumed to disturb the peace of the court and the loyalty of the church of Constantinople. "He had," he said, "heard that a new sect had started up in the East which blasphemously affirmed that the consubstantial Word derived his origin from the Christ-bearing Virgin (Christotokon): that He was created in her womb, and there buried in her human flesh: that the flesh of Christ after the nativity and the resurrection did not continue flesh, but passed into the nature of Deity: that the divinity of the only-begotten Son had reference back to its conjunction with the flesh of the Virgin, and that it was born with (and therefore must have died with) that flesh; the whole clearly amounting to a complete confounding together of the two natures."[p]

Cœlestine excommunicates Nestorius.

The pontifical court took no notice of this supercilious address; and Nestorius, offended by the neglect, repeated the inquiry, who and what were these men—Julius, Florus, Orontius, Fabius, or by whatever names they might be known—who, by authority of the bishops of the West, were intent upon disturbing the peace of his church? "Are they," he inquired, "orthodox men; or do they affect the new heresy of which I am labouring to cleanse the Church of God? Are they followers of the impious sects of Apollinarists or Arians; or do they belong to that gang who set up the Virgin Mary as the progenitrix of Him whom the holy fathers of Nicæa declared to be of the same substance with the Father?" This letter, though sent to its address by a safe hand, was treated

[o] The letters of Cœlestine, carefully considered, rather show an anxiety to maintain the hypostatic union of the divine and human nature in the Christ than to quarrel about the proper designation of his Virgin Mother. In the West, indeed, the worship of the Virgin had not yet risen to the high temperature of eastern adoration.

[p] *Hard.* Conc. tom. i. p. 1307.

with as little attention as the first. It appears that as soon as the report of the schism in the East reached the ears of pope Cœlestine, he assembled a council, and obtained a decision favourable to the views of Cyril. That decision was announced to Nestorius in very precise and not intemperate terms, up to the concluding paragraph announcing the sentence of the pope and council. "Know, then"—so the sentence runs—"that our judgment upon you is, that unless, within ten days after this our final and concurrent resolution shall have come into your hands, you shall declare with your mouth, and by written certificate under your hand profess to hold of and concerning the matters therein propounded the whole doctrine as it is held by the Roman, the Alexandrine, and indeed the whole Christian world, you are hereby cut off from the communion of the Catholic church. You are moreover to take notice that this record of our judgment, and all the documents thereunto appended, have been sent by our son Poseidonius the deacon (the messenger of Cyril) to our brother the patriarch of Alexandria; and unto him, who hath most amply reported to us upon this matter, we have delegated powers to act in our place and person,[q] in order that he may make known to you and to all brethren this our final resolution and sentence."[r]

Cyril the agent of the see of Rome.

The same letters that conveyed to Cyril the unconditional proxy of the Roman pontiff, intimated to him in terms of loving courtesy the congratulations of the holy see upon the incomparable acuteness and sagacity with which he had exposed the venomous sophisms of the common enemy. "Having now," said Cœlestine, "the authority of this our see to support you, and our full proxy to execute this our common sentence, proceed, I pray you, diligently with the task before you; and boldly announce to the delinquent his sentence, and the term allowed him for repentance and retractation."[s] Poseidonius was in like manner charged with letters to the primates Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi,

[q] Ἵνα τοποτηρῶν ἡμῖν τοῦτο πράξῃ, *i. e.* "he hath our proxy."

[r] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1307.

[s] *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 1321.

to the same effect.[t] Not a moment was lost in publishing far and wide the condemnation of Nestorius to the churches of the East; and the latter found himself suddenly opposed to an organised and clamorous spiritual host, not only formidable to himself and his dogmatic pretensions, but numerous enough to give trouble and anxiety to the feeble and indolent court of Constantinople.

Nestorius and John patriarch of Antioch.

In the midst of the hubbub of controversy which now burst out in all quarters, John patriarch of Antioch alone stood forth as the advocate of moderate counsels. He denounced the whole discussion as futile in itself and dangerous to the interests of religion. He conveyed his advice to Nestorius not to persist in his rash attempt to solve the great mystery of the incarnation; and hinted that notwithstanding the harsh demeanour of his opponents, and the unreasonable shortness of the term allowed for reconciliation, he might perhaps silence the storm by a general profession of conformity to the doctrine of the Catholic church upon the points in dispute. At all events, it would be best, both for himself and the cause of religion, if he abstained from the further agitation of a question of so mysterious and inscrutable a nature.[u] Nestorius received this admonition with good humour, and in reply sent to John a transcript of a sermon he had recently preached before the court, clergy, and people of Constantinople, in which, in reference to the character of the Virgin Mary, he applied the term "Christotokos" in lieu of "Theotokos," by which substitution he hoped both to satisfy his adversaries, and avoid the danger which lurked in the more popular appellative.[v]

Cyril and his faction demand a general council.

But by this time the disease was beyond the reach of palliatives. Cyril had industriously availed himself of the aid of the monastic bodies in spreading agitation in the church and court of Constantinople; and a petition was pre-

[t] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1323. All these letters probably bore the same date, viz. the 10th Aug. 430.

[u] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1327.

[v] *Ibid.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1331.

sented to the emperor Theodosius II. to convoke a general council of the Church, with a view—not to the dispassionate examination of the question in dispute—but for the factious purpose of condemning the doctrine of Nestorius, deposing him from his see, and finally expelling him as a heretic from Christian communion.[w] Irritated by the unreasonable urgency of the petitioners, Theodosius wrote a letter of bitter reproaches to Cyril of Alexandria. He charged him with the whole burden of the existing religious uproar, so prejudicial to the interests of the state and the tranquillity of the court: importunity and pertinacity, he said, were not the proper weapons of this kind of warfare; reasons should be met by reasons, and religious peace should be founded upon common agreement, and not upon insolence and intimidation; yet, in all the assemblies he (Cyril) had convoked, he had acted upon the contrary principle: he had by all means in his power introduced division and tumult into the churches; nor had he confined his reprehensible intrigues to priests and ecclesiastics; he had invaded the palace itself: he had, by sending letters to his empress Eudocia, and his sister the Augusta Pulcheria, endeavoured to introduce misunderstanding and discord into the imperial family itself, and by these means to involve the government and the Church in the same whirlpool of disunion and confusion. "But," he continued, "learn at last that we have determined henceforth to take the custody of the peace both of Church and State into our own hands . . . . and therefore for what is past we grant you our pardon; and as you may perchance complain of us as if you were tongue-tied because of your zeal for religion, we will not refuse you the opportunity of rehearsing all you have ever said before a synod, and then to hold or abandon your opinions as you may think fit; but we will not permit you to keep our cities and churches in a perpetual fever, nor allow your harangues to pass unexamined by those ecclesiastical judges to whom we, in the execution of our duty, propose to refer them, and

[w] Epistle of the monks Basil and Thalassius to the emperor. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1335.

from whom we may expect a more authentic assurance of their propriety and orthodoxy. And inasmuch as it is our intention that no one shall decline this high court of inquiry, so likewise will it be our care that every one shall resort thither without let or hindrance, and with the same confidence as we should ourselves. No one shall, in short, substitute his own arbitrary behests for fair persuasion and free discussion. Therefore be it your duty to give your attendance in conformity with the summons to be addressed to all the metropolitan prelates; and it will moreover become you to remember that you can no otherwise retrieve our favour than by doing your best to assuage discontent and turbulence, and by giving your mind solely to the free discussion of the matters in hand; for thus alone can you convince us that your past irregularities really proceeded from zeal for religion, and that for the time to come you unfeignedly desire the victory of right and justice: for should you take any other course, be persuaded that we will not support you therein."[x]

Convocation of a general council at Ephesus.

Valentinian II. and his advisers in the West took no interest in the dispute, or the proceedings which followed upon it. But pope Cœlestine sustained the dignity of the Roman church with a skill and effect which acquired for that church and for himself all the credit of principal actors in a transaction in which in fact he had only a subordinate part to perform. On the other hand, Nestorius made no objection to a full and fair inquiry into the soundness of his doctrine, and does not appear to have taken any steps to create an undue influence in his own favour; and on the 19th of Nov. 430 the imperial letters of convocation were issued, addressed to all the metropolitans of the empire, commanding them to summon the bishops of their provinces in the greatest possible numbers; and, without delay or excuse, to attend at Ephesus on the feast of Pentecost in the following year (431),[y] "for the purpose," as the letters ran, "of settling and publishing such a form of sound doctrine on the disputed questions to be brought before

[x] See the whole document, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1341.

[y] In this year the feast occurred on the 7th of June.

them as should for the future effectually prevent those indecent bickerings which had of late so seriously disturbed the peace of the Church, and endangered the public tranquillity."[z]

Assembling of the council; its composition.

But Cyril and his ally pope Cœlestine had committed themselves too far to risk a reversal of their joint judgment, or to regard the great council about to assemble at Ephesus in any other light than as an instrument for the execution of their own purposes and the ruin of their adversary. Nestorius arrived at Ephesus about a fortnight before the appointed day of the meeting.[a] Cyril and the Egyptian bishops were not far behind him; and within a few days afterwards he was joined by his friend Juvenal of Jerusalem, with the prelates of his province. For some not very intelligible reason the Syrian and Cappadocian churches had deferred their journey till it was no longer possible to reach their destination till after the appointed day of meeting; and thus, until their arrival, Cyril was assured of a majority in his favour. The court, though fully intent upon securing the fullest possible attendance, had left the day for opening the proceedings at the discretion of the assembly itself; but Cyril was not inclined to defer to the wishes of the court in any matter that might defeat his opportunity of snatching a judgment against his adversary. On his part, the ecclesiastical provinces present by their prelates were those of Egypt, Asia, Palestine, Crete, and Illyricum Orientale; on that of Nestorius, those of Thrace, Pontus, and the dependencies of his patriarchate. The Syrian and Cappadocian bishops were a whole week's march behind. Pope Cœlestine had meanwhile despatched to the scene of action, as his legates, the two bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the presbyter Philip, with positive instructions to regulate their conduct by the advice and opinion of Cyril, but *in all things to uphold the authority of the see of Rome;* in other words, to resist any

Instructions of pope Cœlestine to his legates.

[z] See the Letters, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1343.

[a] *Socrates* (lib. vii. c. 34) says he arrived with a numerous suite of all sorts. Conf. *Evag. Schol.* H. E. lib. i. c. 3.

modification or reversal of his sentence of condemnation against Nestorius. With that view, he told them that it was not necessary to press their attendance upon the meeting; and that when they thought proper to be present they were to confine themselves to taking notes of what passed, without mingling in the debates; at the close of the synod they were to make their report to himself, and afterwards to accompany Cyril to Constantinople, to lay the resolutions of the fathers before the emperor.[b]

Cyril in the council; Candidianus imperial commissioner.

Cyril and his friends Juvenal of Jerusalem and Memnon of Ephesus, finding that they could not reckon upon the support of the Syrians and Cappadocians, hastened to anticipate them. Their supporters on the spot numbered about one hundred and fifty-eight prelates.[c] Those present with Nestorius did not amount to half that number; but with the addition of the friendly bishops now within a few days' journey of the city[d] it was feared he might be enabled to turn the tables upon his adversaries. Cyril held what might not improperly be called military possession of the city: with the aid of his Egyptian satellites and his Ephesian allies he made himself master of all the more spacious churches, in order thereby to deprive his opponent of every consecrated building affording sufficient space to accommodate his party; and himself opened the session in the great church of St. Mary.[e] After the reading of the imperial letters of convocation and the certificate of his proxy as representative of Cœlestine of Rome, Cyril and his faction were startled by the entrance of Candidianus, the imperial commissioner, to announce his instructions

[b] Commonit. Cœlest. Pap. ad legatos, &c. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p 1347. In his letter to the Ephesine synod (ibid. p. 1471, and *Baron.* Ann. 431, § 14) he explains the character in which his legates were to appear: "Direximus pro nostrâ solicitudine sanctos fratres . . . . Arcadium et Projectum coepiscopos, et Philippum presbyterum nostrum, qui his quæ agentur intersint, et *quæ a nobis antea statuta sunt exequentes;* quibus præstandum per vestram sanctitatem non dubitamus assensum, quando id quod legitur (the pope's instructions) videatur pro universalis ecclesiæ securitate decretum."

[c] The names of the bishops assembled at the first sessions (almost all the friends of Cyril) are appended to the report in the Concilia. See Acta Conc. Ephes. ap. *Hard.* tom. i. p. 1354.

[d] The Nestorians present seem to have been about 68 in number. See their protest, *ibid.* p. 1349.

[e] See the protest of Nestorius and the bishops of his party to the emperor, *Hard.* Concil. ibid. pp. 1354, 1438.

from the emperor for the regulation of the proceedings. It would be his duty, he told them, to remove from the city all monks and other rabble who had resorted thither from motives of idleness or mischief, together with all clerks who were not in attendance upon their bishops: his orders were to prevent all tumultuous or seditious movements; to see that both parties had fair play; to take care that no bishop departed from the synod before the publication of their judgment; and to allow no question to be brought before them, or to be discussed, but that for which they had been specially convoked.

Protests against the opening of the council.

This announcement was inconvenient enough, inasmuch as it threatened to deprive the Egyptian party of the command of the entrances into the church; and perhaps it was still more so, as, if fully executed, their adversaries would probably find a roof to assemble under. But their wrath was boundless when Candidianus further objected against the opening of the session until, by the arrival of the whole body of the churches summoned, all might have a full and fair opportunity of expressing their opinions. The declaration was received with indecent and insulting vociferations; and the imperial commissioner was driven with personal violence out of the church.[f] At the same time, a formal remonstrance was handed in from the sixty-eight Nestorian prelates deprecating any premature proceeding to business in the face of positive information that John of Antioch and the Syrian bishops were then within a few days' journey of Ephesus.[g] But these reasonable appeals produced no impression upon the inflamed tempers of the assembly. At the suggestion of Cyril, they resolved that time enough had been allowed for the arrival of all who were entitled to be present, and that it was now necessary to hasten the proceedings, lest accident, sickness, or death, might so diminish their numbers that no generally satisfactory decision could be arrived at. They

[f] Protest of the 22d June 431, addressed to Theodosius. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1351.

[g] See the apology of John to Cyril, id. ibid. p. 1347, and the protest of the Nestorians addressed to Cyril and Juvenal, id. ibid. p. 1349.

Nestorius summoned.

proceeded therefore to summon Nestorius and his bishops to come in and take their seats in council. The patriarch, however, dismissed the summoners with the laconic answer that he would attend at a proper and convenient time. A second and a third summons received no more satisfactory reply; and the assembled fathers, in contempt of all objections, constituted themselves into a spiritual legislature, as if their constitution and numbers had been legally complete.[h]

Mutual excommunications.

After a long *ex-parte* discussion, the articles of charge against Nestorius were pronounced to be fully proved; his doctrine regarding the incarnation was declared to be rank heresy, and he himself a heresiarch more dangerous than Paul of Samosata, Arius, or other the vilest among his predecessors in iniquity: his doctrine was therefore doomed to anathema, and he himself deposed from his see, and expelled from the communion of the Church. But in the mean time the Syrian bishops had arrived at Ephesus. The majority of these prelates had adopted the compromise recommended by their patriarch John, and regarded the proceedings of the Egyptian faction as altogether illegal and unjust. A proper place of meeting was found for them; and, in conjunction with the friends of Nestorius, they constituted themselves a synod in as close a conformity with the imperial precept as the irregular conduct of their adversaries permitted.[i] This proceeding was sanctioned by the imperial commissioner, and the meeting decreed the deposition of Cyril and Memnon upon the special grounds that, by their disobedience to the imperial command un-

[h] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1354. The right to set the ecclesiastical powers in motion was always considered as an article of imperial prerogative. That right included the determination of the time, place, and numbers of the assembly. But the fathers of Ephesus appear to have regarded the emperor as *functus officio* as soon as he had issued the letters of convocation; and they accordingly treated the imperial commissioner and his ulterior instructions with undisguised contempt. The question of law as to the relative powers of the monarch and the Church in the convocation of general councils has never been authoritatively determined. Until that question is satisfactorily settled, no reliance can be placed upon the justice or equity of any general council. Theological faction is a fiery furnace that consumes all considerations of justice or mercy to opponents.

[i] See the protest of Nestorius and his friends, where the manifold outrages of the Alexandrian faction are the subject of bitter complaint. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1438.

der which they were assembled, they had forfeited their right to the character of a synod; that they had illegally, tyrannically, and under false pretences, excluded their brethren from their deliberations; that they had violently shut out those their brethren from all the churches of the city, so as to preclude them from the due performance of their religious duties; that they had collected mobs of lawless vagabonds, and filled the city with riot and rapine; that they had threatened those who declined to join their assembly with personal violence; set at naught all reasonable remonstrances, and trodden under foot all ecclesiastical ordinances, in order that in the confusion thus created they might prevent all fair inquiry into the perverse and heretical doctrine they professed.[j] The sentence was signed by forty bishops, among whom were thirteen metropolitans of the Thracian, Syrian, Isaurian, and Cilician provinces.[k]

Proceedings of the Egypto-Roman synod.

While the eastern churches were blindly following the impulses of religious animosity and flourishing the spiritual sword without regard to consequences, the pope of Rome was silently weaving the net which was to drive the whole of the oriental shoal into his own close waters. Pope Cœlestine desired that the vindication of orthodoxy to be achieved at Ephesus should appear as the work of his hand. To that end it was essential that the resolutions of the council should be made to sound as the simple echo of his own predetermined decision; Cyril was to appear as the official conductor; the legates, as the passive ministers and executors of his pontifical volitions. Under this plan, what course the deliberations might

[j] The imputation of heresy cast by Nestorius upon his opponents rested apparently upon the allegation that, unless the two natures in the Christ are kept perfectly separate and distinct (though existing together in the same person), the opposite errors, either of altogether eliminating the humanity, or lowering the divinity to the level of the humanity, could not be avoided. He regarded the doctrine of Cyril and his supporters as approaching more closely to the latter error. This was, however, either a mistake or a wilful misrepresentation. The school of Cyril of Alexandria was the nursery of the Eutychian errors, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to advert. Conf. Conciliat. Ephes. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 1447-1458.

[k] The synodal letter of John of Antioch to the emperor (*Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1458) recapitulates the grounds of the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, and accounts for the delay in the arrival of the Syrians at the place of meeting.

take was a matter of little consequence, and thus far any interference of the legates was unnecessary. But as soon as the proceedings were ripe for judgment, the moment indicated in their instructions was at hand. They accordingly moved that those instructions be again read and recorded in the minutes of the council; the legate Philip then declared all previous proceedings to be in conformity; and concluded an ostentatious oration by pronouncing in the name of the holy see the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius, "*according to the 'formula' which the holy pope Cœlestine had committed to his care.*" The bishop-legate Arcadius gave the like judgment, "in pursuance (as he said) of the traditions of the catholic Church handed down from the apostles, and in obedience to the form prescribed by Cœlestine the most holy pope of the apostolic see, who had condescended to delegate them as his legates and executors in that business, as well as to give effect to the decrees of the holy synod." The legate Projectus added his adjudication to that of his colleagues in the same form of words. Cyril then caused the papal ratification to be recorded in the terms in which it was conveyed by them.[1]

Organic demerits of the Ephesine synod.

The records of the Ephesine council leave the impression that Cyril did not from the beginning look upon the assembly as a deliberative body —the only character from which it could derive any claim to the attention of the Christian world—but simply as an instrument of his own tyrannical dogmatism. The summons addressed to Nestorius before the arrival of the Syrian prelates can only be regarded as an empty form, designed to cover a deliberate act of injustice. The excuse tendered for not awaiting the advent of the Syrians was obviously colorable; and the flagrant infraction of the imperial precept, from which alone they derived their right to sit, and the whole outward form of a council, strikes from under the feet of the fathers of Ephesus all claim to that character, unless the spiritual merits of the decision arrived at should be

[1] See "Actio tertia" of the council of Ephesus, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 1478, 1479.

held of efficacy to obliterate all those moral and constitutional defects, which to ordinary judgment would unfit them to be the organ of any constituted body, or the interpreters of any religious truth.[m] Pope Cœlestine, however, cannot fairly be charged with the sins of Cyril. It concerned him little how the subject-matters of inquiry were treated, nor had he the means of controlling the conduct of his emissary even if he had desired a greater freedom of discussion. Leaving, therefore, to his agent the credit of the theological triumph, he managed to place his own name and authority in the first rank; he caused himself and his see to appear as the moving power in a council in which no single bishop of the western communion except his own two legates was present, so that the acts of the assembly might pass as the expression of his own independent and prepotent judgment. "For (exclaimed the legate Philip) who now-a-days can doubt that which is, and ever hath been, notorious in all ages of the Church? that, namely, the holy and most blessed Peter the apostle, the head and pillar of the faith, did from our Lord Jesus Christ himself receive the keys of the kingdom, and that to him was given the power to bind and to loose; which power to this day *liveth in his successors*, and through them executeth judgment upon earth."[n]

The papal policy.

Cyril and his faction failed not to retort the censures of the opposition-synod upon the heads of its principal member. They excommunicated and deposed the patriarch John of Antioch—as far as we know, the only right-minded leader on either side. They besieged the ear of the feeble Theodosius with clamours, disturbed the indolent tranquillity of the court by intrigues, and perplexed the minds of men by charges and counter-charges, till from sheer weariness of importunity the friends of the patriarch of Constantinople

Deposition and exile of Nestorius.

[m] Unless indeed—as is but too often the case in the world—religious truth be disjoined from moral integrity and justice.

[n] *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1478. The speech of Philip throws some light upon the wording of pope Cœlestine's instructions to his legates: "Et *auctoritatem* sedis apostolici custodiri debere mandamus," &c. See the Commonit. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1347.

fell off, the emperor finally deserted him, and confirmed the iniquitous sentence he had so reasonably deprecated. The forsaken pontiff retired from the field, and probably consented to some modification of his extreme tenets with a view to soften his antagonists.[o] But the unquenchable hatred of Cyril and his theological partisans pursued him to the grave. Within four years of the close of the proceedings at Ephesus the emperor succeeded in reconciling Cyril with John of Antioch; and Nestorius, after enjoying a period of comparative peace, under the protection of the latter, within the walls of the monastery from which he had gone forth to fill the chair of Constantinople, was, by an order from the court, removed to the Egyptian oasis, and from thence dragged from one dreary place of banishment to another, till, worn out by age and exhausted by fatigue, he sank into the grave amid the yells and execrations of his unrelenting enemies.[p] The remoter consequences of the Nestorian controversy must hereafter fill some space in these pages. We observe here only, that the fears he inspired are apparent in the pains taken by his opponents to connect his name with all that was basest, most irrational, and most odious, in the long list of preceding heresies. But these efforts rather tended to keep alive the public interest in his fate; and to exasperate the multitude of followers who—though in many instances dropping the name—still pertinaciously adhered to the Nestorian distinction in the two natures as combined in the person of the Saviour, and rejected as a blasphemy the application of the title of "Mother of God" to a mortal woman.[q]

[o] He is said by *Socrates* (lib. vii. c. 34) to have retracted his objections to the term "Theotokos." But this is not consistent with the story of *Evagrius*, as framed upon the letters of Nestorius during his exile. See note below.

[p] The narrative of *Evagrius* (H. E. lib. i. c. 7) is an odious specimen of theological malignity—the more so from its affected air of candour.

[q] Many persons regard the issue of the great council of Chalcedon, fifty years afterwards, as substantially a triumph of the Nestorian principle. The oscillations of religious opinion upon this question have been more frequent than upon any preceding controversy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LEONINE PERIOD. (I.)

Affairs of the East in connection with the papacy—Idea of the Roman primacy in the West—Influence of the idea of the chair of Peter—Causes of the advance of Roman prerogative in the fifth century—Those causes more operative in the West than the East—Accession of pope Leo the Great to the pontificate—His definition of the Petrine prerogative—Pope Leo claims arbitrary power in the Church—The "*superabounding*" power of the Cath. Petri—The appeal of Celedonius—Leo the Great and archbishop Hilary of Arles—Historical judgment on the conduct of Leo the Great in the cause of Celedonius—*Decree of Valentinian III.*—Preamble to the decree—Condemns Hilary—Establishes the universal spiritual jurisdiction of Rome—Character of the decree of Valentinian III.—Characters of Hilary of Arles and Leo of Rome—State of the Roman world—The West—The East—Theodoret and Cyril on the nature of the Christ—Eutyches of Constantinople—His theory of the incarnation—He denounces Theodoret, &c.—Domnus of Antioch denounces Eutyches—Flavian patriarch of Constantinople against Eutyches—Theodosius II. convokes a general council—Leo the Great in communication with Flavian—Leo demands a general council *in Italy*—Leo abandons his demand—Treatise of Leo the Great on the doctrine of the incarnation—Composition, plan, and management of the council—Correspondence of pope Leo with the Orientals—Second council of Ephesus—Violent proceedings of the council—Brutal and unjust demeanour of the council—Appeal of Flavian—Compulsory signature of his condemnation—Brutality of Dioscorus and his friends—Murder of Flavian—Condemnation of Domnus, Theodoret, &c.—Advantages of Rome in the results of the council—How improved by Leo the Great—Pope Leo demands a general council—Theodosius declines—Dioscorus excommunicates Leo—Inattention of the Orientals to the papal claims.

Affairs of the East in connection with the papacy.

THE affairs of the East have been dwelt upon at some length, because it would hardly be possible to present a clear view of the progress of the papal power without some acquaintance with the elements it had to deal with abroad as well as at home. The opportunity which the council of Ephesus afforded to establish at least a theoretical basis for the furtherance of the Roman pretensions was very

ably managed by pope Cœlestine. The practical improvement might be safely left to the course of events, in which it might be clearly foreseen that religious faction could not fail to play the game into the hands of the power endowed with the requisite tact and firmness to maintain the character of judicial umpire, and to dismiss as dutiful suitors all who resorted thither for friendly support or advice.

In the West, however, the papacy had a more difficult part to play. A few remarks upon the relations of the western prelacy to the bishop of Rome will form a necessary introduction to the important pontificate of pope Leo the Great.

Idea of the Roman primacy in the West.

It is difficult to explain how it happened that, supposing the primacy of the see of Rome had been from the beginning the subject of general and perspicuous belief among all Christians—for so the church of Rome affirms it to have been—no titular distinction should, for many centuries after the foundation of that church, have been conferred upon or permanently assumed by its bishop to denote his official supremacy. The title of pope was not, even down to the period now under review, exclusively appropriated by Rome, and the bishop of that city still continued to address and to be addressed by others of episcopal rank as "brother" and "colleague."[a] Hitherto, in fact, no outward badge or token of superiority, to the disturbance of that spiritual equality which had always subsisted in the episcopal ranks, had been affected by the bishops of Rome. In the West, therefore, the alleged primacy was not a matter of that general or perspicuous belief which three successive popes—Zosimus, Benedict, and Cœlestine—had defined it to be. The churches of Africa had repudiated it in one of its most essential attributes, the appellate jurisdiction:[b] those of Gaul had not been so far enlightened by their instructions from Rome as to discern in the conduct of the intrepid Proculus of Marseilles a criminal rebellion against a lawful authority.[c] And it is to be noticed, that in their language and conduct when

[a] "Frater et coepiscopus." [b] Book II. c. ii. p. 307. [c] Ibid. p. 298.

in temporary opposition, all these churches without exception grounded themselves upon the general canon law and the special customs of their respective bodies; and that they called upon Rome to acquiesce in their claims upon these bases, without the remotest allusion to any such primacy or its presumed rights.[d]

Influence of the idea of the chair of Peter.

The pontiffs clearly apprehended the difficulty in which this kind of passive resistance involved them: no inch of ground was to be gained without canonical authority: the definitions of the Nicene fathers did not help them: the canons of Sardica were either unknown to, or unacknowledged by, the western churches, even in their spurious conjunction with those of Nicæa: and in fact those canons in their actual form afforded very little countenance to the unlimited claims both of original and appellate jurisdiction set up by the three last-named pontiffs on their own behalf. But, on the other hand, the theory of the cathedra Petri had, to say the least, hitherto passed the review of all these churches without verbal contradiction: that theory might therefore be made either to help out the deficiencies, or to supersede the obligations of ecclesiastical law; and every act of deference or respectful homage on the part of foreign churches might be construed by the popes into an act of dutiful submission to the divine commission deposited beneath the acknowledged chair of Peter. That chair might thus take its rights by instalments, without relinquishing an item of its largest and broadest claims: the canon law might either be thrust into the background, or treated as an ancillary power at the disposal of the Petrine principality—as the simple handmaiden of the transcendental authority of St. Peter and his successors. By this mode of warfare the opposition of local custom, privilege, or franchise might be defeated in detail, and a firm foundation laid for substituting the decretals of the Roman popes for the laws of the universal Church.[e]

[d] No mention of the cathedra Petri, as a title to ecclesiastical power, occurs in any of the communications of these churches with Rome.

[e] We do not affect to avoid those partially prospective views in the course

Causes of the advance of Roman prerogative in the v^th century.

Again; the legal infirmities of the Roman claims were powerfully aided by the moral force they derived from the spiritual, and we may add the temporal wants and exigencies of the times. Of all these the most seriously felt was the deficiency of the outward means for maintaining the unity of government, and of imparting any uniform direction to the management of ecclesiastical affairs; a state of things dangerous to, if not subversive of social tranquillity. The student of church-history is struck at every step with the poverty and confusion prevailing in ecclesiastical law and polity. The councils of Nicæa and Constantinople provided remedies for some practical abuses and inconveniences. Those of Sardica—vague and in most cases impracticable in themselves—possessed no claim to respect or authority out of Rome. The corpus of ecclesiastical law in general was made up of the rules adopted by provincial synods, current, in many instances, beyond the districts which gave them birth, and of the local usages of particular churches sanctioned by immemorial practice, or by traditional derivation from the founders of Christianity. Like all inchoate legislation, that of the earlier Christian churches consisted of simple precepts intended to meet particular exigencies, or to correct certain manifest abuses. But such a mode of making laws for a body so powerful and numerous as the Church of the fifth century was totally inadequate to the wants of society both ecclesiastical and political. That spiritual bond by which the primitive association was compacted had, by expansion, become infinitely attenuated. With the progress of the hierarchical scheme the communion of saints had been materialised into a political bond subservient to carnal objects and personal interests; yet even in that state it was almost powerless to cement together and impart a combined action to the vast oligarchy which divided and contested the government of the religious world. Diverted, as the whole scheme

of our narrative which seem essential as distant landmarks and fingerposts to show the reader his direction, so that he may not lose his way among the intricacies and thickets of the ground he has to pass over.

of the Christian association now was, into a political channel, a law strong, comprehensive, and well-defined, became necessary to sustain the new character. Rome took upon herself to promulgate and dispense such a law; and, humanly speaking, it might be a question whether, if she had withdrawn from the task, the emblematic garment of Christ might not have been rent into as many shreds as there were conflicting forces and conceits afloat in the world; and whether religion itself might not have fallen a prey to metaphysical impertinence or superstitious absurdity. The scheme would have been glorious indeed, if the restoration of the sacred vesture had been effected with the genuine material left behind him by the divine bequeather.

Those causes more operative in the West than the East.

Ever since the establishment of Christianity the secular government had often to deplore the results of this ecclesiastical anarchy. Laws were from time to time passed by the state to check the vices and irregularities of the clergy. In the East the emperors had convoked councils with a view to restore dogmatic unanimity, and to put an end to the scenes of tumult, and occasionally of bloodshed, which had resulted from disappointed ambition or religious animosity. But all these ordinances and expedients had proved unavailing against the momentum of worldly passions exasperated by rigid and unchristian dogmatism. In the West, indeed, religious dissension had given much less trouble to the government; because the mind of the western nations was less addicted to religious speculation, and more averse from innovation. They had long since surrendered the public liberty into the hands of the imperial despot; and the same abject disposition reconciled them to the absolute abandonment of the private conscience to ecclesiastical authority. Thus the Church and the State approached each other in principle, though in a direction which for the present left no ground for suspicions or jealousies on either side. They might support; but, in the actual state of public affairs, they were under no temptation to contend with, or to encroach upon one another. The results of this sympathy were more fully

displayed in the history of the pontificate of pope Leo the Great.

Accession of pope Leo the Great to the pontificate.

Popes Cœlestine I. and Sixtus or Xistus III. occupied the papal chair together about eighteen years. In the year 440 the latter pontiff was succeeded by Leo, archdeacon of the Roman church; a person so advantageously distinguished by his piety and learning, that he was chosen in his absence, and without a dissentient voice, to fill the vacant throne.

His idea of the Petrine prerogative.

The principle of the Petrine prerogative was more clearly and sharply defined in the mind of this extraordinary man than in that of any of his predecessors. Nor did the idea once conceived undergo any change from the beginning to the close of his career. In all his sermons and addresses he adhered to the single commentary upon the words of the Lord to Peter: "The apostle," he says, "was called *Petra*, the rock, by which denomination he is constituted the *foundation*. . . . In his chair *dwelleth the ever-living power*, the *superabounding authority*.[f] Let the brethren therefore acknowledge that he is the primate of all bishops, and that Christ, who denieth his gifts to none, *yet giveth unto none except through him*." In other passages of his writings he pursues his comments thus: "'Upon this rock will I build my church,'—upon this strong ground will I erect my eternal temple, and the glory of my church, which is planted in heaven, *shall grow up* ON EARTH from this one man's faith; this confession the gates of hell shall not shake, the bonds of death shall not bind."

Pope Leo claims despotic power in the Church.

No very material difference is perceptible between the Leonine conception of the Petrine prerogative and those of Augustine and Optatus of Milevis taken in conjunction. Leo the Great skilfully combines the spiritual element of the

[f] *i.e.* the authority over-ruling all ordinary government, and requisite to control and regulate its action, to give it its due direction, and to correct its abuses; consequently superseding all ecclesiastical law when the interests of the Church (or of its head) should require such interference.

former with the visible primacy of the latter,[g] and builds upon them a proposition in advance of both. From their premises he deduces the theory of a *superabounding* and overruling power, independent both of the ordinary jurisdiction of the episcopate, and of all ecclesiastical legislation in which he (the pope) is not a moving or consenting party; a power based as much upon Peter's faith, according to Augustine, as upon his exclusive personal commission, according to Optatus. Yet it ought to be noticed that Leo I. did not conceive this prerogative—incontrollable and absolute as it was—as a power of *ordinary* exercise. He appears, indeed, to have regarded it primarily as a simply auxiliary principle, destined to help out the inevitable defects of ecclesiastical legislation and management, and to provide remedies nowhere else to be found for otherwise irremediable evils. But it is clear that a contingency was held in reserve in his mind which should justify its interposition at all hazards, namely, that of contradiction to the principle itself. Thus, when the authority of Peter's chair was either theoretically or practically denied, every principle of law was to be in abeyance, every voice was to be hushed, until the gainsayer was reduced to conformity. The *limitation*, therefore, was to operate in no other way than as a direction to the private conscience or discretion of the pontiff. Both theoretically and practically it was nugatory or self-destructive—it was a limitation without a limit; for the contingency which should call it into action was in the discretion of the holder. In this we may recognise that subtle self-deception by which good and able men so often veil from their own eyes the true character of their own motives.[h]

[g] See chap. ii. pp. 294 et sqq. of this Book.

[h] See the addresses of Leo I. to the Gallic churches, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 445, §§ 12 to 14. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. pp. 268, 269; and *Bower's* severe and perhaps not altogether justifiable strictures upon the life of Leo the Great. *Neander*, in his K. G. vol. ii. p. 369, note 1, extracts from a remarkable work of Leo, entitled "De Vocatione Gentium" (lib. ii. c. 6), the following passage: "Roma, quæ tamen per apostolici sacerdotii principatum amplior facta est aree religionis, quam solio potestatis," &c. In another passage quoted by the last-mentioned writer, he says, *inter alia*, of the see of Peter: "Civitas sacerdotalis et regia per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsidens religione divinâ quam dominatione terrenâ," &c.

The *superabounding* power of the cathedra Petri.

From pope Leo the Great, in fact, we obtain the first clear dogmatic statement of the Petrine prerogative. It was to this effect: ecclesiastical law might be admitted as the *ordinary* rule of church-government, discipline, and ritual; but by virtue of the collateral commission to St. Peter and his successors, an *extraordinary*, or, as it was termed by Leo, a *superabounding* jurisdiction was introduced, the exercise of which was left wholly in the discretion of the reigning pontiff, to be exercised by him under no human control, and to extend to every department of church-government.

The appeal of Celedonius.

The first important transaction of this pontificate affords a practical commentary upon this theory of the Petrine powers. It will be remembered that pope Zosimus settled the primacy of the provinces of Gallia Narbonensis and Viennensis upon the see of Arles, disallowing the claims of the archbishop of Vienne.[i] It happened that, in the year 445, Hilarius, metropolitan of Arles, made a visitation of his province, and that, among other matters of importance transacted on that occasion, Celedonius, bishop of Vesontium (Besançon), was charged, tried and deposed, as a person canonically disqualified for the episcopate, because he had married a widow, and before his ordination had presided as judge at a criminal proceeding followed by capital conviction and punishment.[j] Celedonius repaired to Rome, and appealed to the pope against the sentence of his metropolitan, alleging that his church lay not within the jurisdiction of Arles, but in the province of Vienne, and that therefore the interference of Hilary was an unlawful encroachment upon a foreign jurisdiction; the primate of Vienne being his proper ecclesiastical judge. It is barely conceivable that Leo can have been ignorant of the decision of his predecessor, promulgated only twenty-eight years before this occurrence. Yet, strange to say, the pope peremptorily quashed the judgment of the primate of Arles and his provincial council; he re-

[i] See c. ii. p. 299 of this Book.

[j] See *Pagi* crit. ad Baron. Ann. 445, nos. viii. and ix. p. 584.

ceived Celedonius into communion, and permitted him to exercise episcopal functions in his own presence.

Leo the Great and archbishop Hilary of Arles.

Archbishop Hilary, a person of austere and uncourtly address, took up his staff, and in the midst of winter travelled on foot to Rome. Leo received him with good humour; but Hilary abruptly declared that he had not travelled so far, and in such weather, to bandy words with the pope, but simply to state the case of Celedonius as it really stood upon the facts proved, and to warn the pontiff against flying in the face of all ecclesiastical law.[k] Hilary, however, consented that Celedonius should be heard in private before a committee of bishops: what passed at the meeting is imperfectly known: the archbishop appears to have lost his temper, and to have committed some contempt of the pontiff and his court that consigned him to ecclesiastical custody.[l] But he very soon found means of eluding the vigilance of his jailors; and after encountering a variety of hardships made good his retreat to Arles in safety. The pope, construing this evasion of the accuser as an abandonment of the cause, and—more than this—a disclaimer of his supreme jurisdiction, treated the sentence against Celedonius as a nullity, and reinstated him in his see. Proceeding then against Hilary himself for his contempt, he cut him off from the communion of Rome, and by way of penalty solemnly emancipated the churches both of the Viennensis and Narbonensis from the primacy of the see of Arles: "for," said the indignant pontiff, "he (Hilary) *refuseth to be any longer subject to the blessed Peter;* he vindicateth to himself the right of ordination to all churches of the Gauls; and assumeth as of his own right the dignity appertaining to the metropolitan prelates; and moreover derogateth from the reverence due to the blessed Peter by the arrogance of his language. But, verily, whoever imagineth to deny Peter's princi-

[k] And in truth—not to mention the canons of Nicæa and Constantinople—even those of Sardica could not cure the manifold legal defects in the papal proceeding. Conf. Book I. c. ix. pp. 206 and 207.

[l] It cannot be known whether this imprisonment was carried into execution by the civil power, or by the pope of his own authority. If by the latter, this is, as far as I know, the first instance on record of imprisonment for contempt by any ecclesiastical officer, board, or tribunal.

pality shall not thereby in any way diminish his dignity; but on the contrary thereof, being himself puffed up with the spirit of pride, shall plunge his own soul into the abyss of hell."[m]

Historical judgment on the conduct of Leo the Great.

This transaction, upon the accounts of it as they stand, appears in the light of a naked exercise of the "superabounding" power, and destitute of any pretence of ecclesiastical law or authority. Pope Leo despotically stripped a metropolitan church, of great and venerable antiquity, whose privileges and jurisdictions had been upon solemn inquiry confirmed and established by one of his most recent predecessors, of all its prescriptive rights: and this he did for the purpose of vindicating a pretension—in itself subversive of all law—to punish a supposed contempt of the person and the judicature in which that self-imputed power was lodged. Pope Leo could not, indeed, have selected a fitter or more striking occasion for exhibiting the true character of that power. Celedonius might have been righted; the recusancy of Hilary might have been punished by putting the Sardican canons —now part and parcel of the Roman code of canon law —into operation: a court composed of comprovincial prelates might have been assembled by the canonical authority of the see of Rome, if it had so pleased the pontiff; and a trial of the alleged irregularities and contempts might have been had on the spot in the presence of papal assessors.[n] But it suited the champion of prerogative to choose a remedy which should display in the broadest light the true relation of church-legislation to that suspending and dispensing power to which he laid claim; and thus to prove to the world that neither law, nor adjudication, nor precedent of former time should be allowed to stand in the way of its summary exercise when the prerogative itself was threatened.

The aspect of the Gallic churches at this moment was unpromising; their applications to Rome were less frequent than was desirable; and their language too free and

[m] See *Baron.* Ann. 445, §§ 12, 13, 14; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. pp. 267 et sqq.; *Bower*, vol. ii. pp. 9 et sqq.

[n] Conf. Book I. ch. ix. pp. 204, 205.

independent not to jar upon the ear of the spiritual sovereign.[o] It was obvious that contempts like that of Hilary could not be repeated without serious danger to the Petrine prerogative; and pope Leo determined to strengthen his hands by calling in the temporal authority in aid of his spiritual pretensions. The feeble emperor Valentinian III. was prevailed upon by the eloquent pontiff to regard the conduct of Hilary in the light of spiritual treason; and an edict was addressed to Aëtius, the magister militum of the Gauls, adopting the principle, and drawn up almost in the terms, of Leo's decretal to the Gallic churches. "Being deeply impressed"—saith the edict—"with the conviction that in the favour of Almighty God alone the empire can find protection, to the deserving whereof the maintenance of the Christian faith and of our holy religion doth mainly contribute; being assured, moreover, that by the authority of a sacred synod[p] the primacy of the apostolic see, which is the brightest star in the episcopal constellation, and the glory of the city of Rome, hath been established and confirmed: now, therefore, in order that no human presumption may hereafter attempt practices unsanctioned or forbidden by that see, we declare and pronounce that thereby alone can the peace of the Church be preserved, that the whole world[q] do acknowledge that see as its *director and governor:* and although this rule hath been always regarded and observed as inviolable, yet Hilary bishop of Arles hath—as we learn from the faithful relation of the venerable Leo pope of Rome—of late attempted certain daring innovations, thereby occasioning disorders in the transalpine churches greatly to be reprobated . . the

The decree of Valentinian III.

Preamble.

Condemns Hilary.

[o] Conf. *Pagi's* extracts from the life of St. Hilary of Arles by St. Honoratus, not. ad *Baron.* Ann. 445, note xiii. p. 583. The saintly character of Hilary appears to have been proof against the shafts of his adversary. See also *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. p. 272, whose short notice of St. Hilary after his excommunication is extracted from the same authority.

[p] This is very vague. What synod? Is this a quotation from the report of the synod of Rome which condemned Hilary? or is it an allusion to the Sardican council? The canons of that equivocal assembly have not been unfrequently put forward in support of the Petrine pretensions.

[q] "Universitas"—Greek, *οἰκουμένη*.

said Hilary, who is styled bishop of Arles, having usurped to himself undue authority by ordaining bishops without taking council with the pontiff of Rome, and also having translated some bishops and consecrated others against the will of the electors, and inducted them by force." The decree then recites the papal sentence against Hilary, and declares it to have the force of law within the Gallic province, "although it had not (till then) received the imperial sanction. For how—he continues—should what proceeds from so sublime an authority not be binding upon the churches? Nevertheless we have issued this our special precept touching this matter, to the end that, for the future, neither Hilary—who, by the forbearance of the long-suffering pontiff, is still permitted to bear the name of bishop—nor any other person presume to execute ecclesiastical sentences by force of arms, or to resist the commands of the Roman pontiff; for by such audacity is the reverence due to our imperial authority openly violated. In order, therefore, to prevent every the least disturbance in the churches, and that discipline may not thereby be infringed, we decree that hereafter and for ever, not only no Gallic bishops, *but no bishop of any other province, be permitted, in contradiction to ancient custom, to do any thing without the authority of the venerable the pope of the eternal city:* but, on the contrary, to them and to all men let *whatsoever the authority of the apostolic see hath ordained, or doth, or shall ordain, be as law; so that any bishop being summoned to the judgment-seat of the Roman pontiff, be thereunto compelled by the governor of the province.*"[r]

Establishes the universal spiritual jurisdiction of Rome.

The papal decretal addressed to the Gallic churches, as followed by and brought into connection with the edict of Valentinian III., amounts to much more than a simple adhesion of the state to the adjudication of the Roman pontiff in his dispute with the Gallic churches. The two documents form, in fact, a compact treaty of alliance offensive and defensive,

Character of the decree of Valentinian III.

[r] *Cod. Theod.* Gothof. tom. vi. Leg. Novell. tit. xxiv. p. 67, cum not. p. 68 et sqq.; *Baron.* Ann. 445, cum not. Pagi.

as between two independent states guaranteeing to each other the unlimited sovereignty within their respective dominions.[s] The state-spiritual is thenceforward to be represented as fully and *universally* by the pontiff of Rome as the state-temporal is represented by the emperor: no temporal sanction is necessarily requisite to the validity of his decrees: all resistance to those decrees is defined to be rebellion against the allied states, and every act of the papal authority is adopted into the law of the land. Under such a scheme reciprocal or familiar intercourse with the Christian churches was at an end; applications for the purposes of mutual counsel and assistance sank down into dutiful attendances on the spiritual sovereign; and for all time to come this one sweeping lawless commentary upon a visionary ordinance or canon was destined not only to supplant all known ecclesiastical law, but to cast the universal Church in chains at the foot of the Roman pontiff.[t] Thus profitably had the bishops of Rome expended their original capital of character and influence. Every little outlay had brought back usurious increase; and wherever the foot of Rome was planted, the imprint remained to mark an extended limit and a wider jurisdiction.

Characters of Hilary of Arles and Leo of Rome.

Both Leo the pontiff and Hilary the archbishop belonged to that noble company of combatants for religion and virtue that often springs up as it were from the earth, when vice and corruption appear triumphant in the world. But they fought in the same cause with different weapons; Hilary wielded the "sword of the spirit" in preference to that of the flesh; Leo believed himself justified in using either as occasion might require. Both desired "to live in

[s] Conf. *Faber*, Sac. Cal. of Prophecy, ed. 1844, vol. i. p. 124 (note).

[t] The "canon" alluded to by Valentinian III. in the preamble to the decree was not improbably the spurious edition of the vi^th canon of Nicæa. The genuine text, as we have seen, did not even give a precedence to the bishop of Rome; though the adulterated text, as will be seen hereafter, might impart some colour to a claim of primacy. The council of Constantinople (381) admitted the precedence of Rome as "primus inter pares." The canons of the council of Sardica introduced a very modified jurisdiction. But it is impossible to name any council, or specific act of any ecclesiastical body, from which such an extent of power as that which the edict of Valentinian recognises could be rationally deduced. Conf. Book I. c. ix. pp. 206, 207, and Book II. ch. i. p. 257.

unity and godly love" with the brethren.[u] But Hilary grounded his hope of success upon the maintenance of Christian law; Leo, upon the acquisition of extrinsic power to suppress and punish disobedience. Such opposite views of the conditions of Christian fellowship could never meet but in conflict with each other. But Hilary had the advantage of his adversary; for he could forgive; he could even condescend to soothe his fiery opponent; while to the latter nothing was gained till he should have extorted a full recognition of the disputed prerogative,—an absolute surrender of will and affection to the Petrine claims. To this Hilary could not consent, and he died at the early age of forty-eight out of the communion of Rome—but out of no other. His admiring brethren took little heed of the frowns of Rome; they continued in cordial intercourse with him till he was taken from them: the privileges of his metropolitan church remained unimpaired;[v] and the name of Hilary of Arles figures to this day in the Roman calendar side by side with that of his canonised opponent.[w]

State of the Roman world. The West.

There is hardly any period of the world's history more redolent of decay than that with which we are engaged. Two women, surrounded by their court of eunuchs and parasites, wielded the sceptres of the East and the West. In the latter division of the empire the empress-mother Placidia ruled the imbecile mind of her son Valentinian III. with almost absolute sway. Living herself in a prurient atmosphere of intrigues, dissimulation, and falsehood, she very soon became the dupe of her own wiles. At the perfidious suggestions of the magister militum Aëtius, she drove the last able servant of the state, Boniface the prefect of Africa, into the arms of the enemy of the tottering empire. While the spiritual forces of Christendom were

[u] In one of his epistles Leo observes, that "no Christian ought to be put out of communion by the arbitrary will of a wrathful priest; neither may the soul for which Christ hath shed his precious blood be so dealt with merely for hasty or inconsiderate words."

[v] See *P. Quesnel*, Dissert. de S. Hilario, c. viii. and ix.

[w] The ultra-Protestant views of the character of Leo's conduct in this controversy may be seen in the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, Cent. v. "de Primatis," c. vii. p. 774; and in *Bower*, Life of Leo I. vol. ii.

contending at Ephesus with almost Vandalic ferocity upon a point of speculative divinity, the savage Genseric was chasing the Roman armies from post to post, till his course was arrested for a while by the strong ramparts of Carthage. A period of seven years elapsed before the capital of the prefecture fell into the hands of the barbarian; but long before that event Africa was lost to Rome; the internecine animosities of Catholics and Donatists, which had for a century and a half divided the African church, were extinguished in the blood of both; and Arianism once more lifted its head under the sanguinary patronage of the barbarian convert.

The East.

The state of the East was hardly more promising. While the savage hordes of the North were overrunning every province of the western empire, and threatening every pass into Italy, the Huns under Attila, "the scourge of God," were ravaging the countries and destroying the defenceless cities of the Danube and the Hæmus almost to the gates of Constantinople. The well-meaning but irresolute Theodosius II., alternately under the absolute influence of his minister Chrysaphius, and his pious sister Pulcheria and her camarilla of eunuchs and parasites, was dissipating the treasures of the state in pusillanimous endeavours to redeem his capital, and save the miserable remnants of his European provinces by ruinous subsidies and tributes, measurable only by the caprice of the haughty Attila. At the same time, great sums were squandered in costly pilgrimages, religious pageants, ostentatious structures, and idle pomps, to avert the eyes of the people from the public calamities. The management of the finances of the state resembled that of the most corrupt of oriental despotisms, scarcely half the estimated amount of the levies finding its way into the imperial treasury. Meanwhile that religious tempest, which had been for a while exorcised by the vigour and vehemence of Cyril of Alexandria, was again gathering in the East, and threatening the visible kingdom of Christ with calamities no less terrible to the moral and religious interests of mankind than that political hurricane which was even now

sweeping over the kingdoms of the world, and scattering to the winds the last remains of ancient civilisation.

Theodoret and Cyril on the nature of the Christ.

Like all other attempts to compress religious opinion into an arbitrary shape or mould, the victory of Cyril had been from the beginning incomplete. His theological scheme was of that subtle and mystical character which invited contradiction and encouraged speculations in the same direction. Cyril lived to see some of the most important doctrines of his school seriously impugned. His reconciliation with the Syrian party after the council of Ephesus had been political rather than religious, and was never either cordial or sincere. The cruel treatment of Nestorius had converted him into a martyr, and enraged the great body of his adherents, while it had disgusted the more temperate of all parties. Others, again, were either perplexed or scandalised by the twelve anathemas of Cyril, a document which in almost all its theses was prolific of doubts and obscurities. Thus, not long after their publication, Theodoret, bishop of the small town of Cyrus or Cyrrhus[x] in the diocese of Antioch, assailed the anathemas with learning and ingenuity. In the ordinarily vituperative tone of oriental controversy, he stigmatised Cyril as an "impious person," to whom all the evils under which the Church was then suffering must be attributed: he clearly detected in that formulary the heresies of Apollinaris[y] and Arius lurking in an intentional confusion of the two natures in Christ.[z] About the same time Theodoret undertook the defence of his friend and preceptor Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, whose works had been denounced by Cyril, and—more vociferously—by the frantic monks of the high Alexandrine faction, as the wellspring of Nestorian pravity.[a] In the correspond-

[x] About eighty Roman miles to the north-east of Antioch on the slopes of mount Taurus. *Smith's* Anc. Geog.

[y] Apollinaris held that the divine Logos supplied the place of a human soul in the Christ; a doctrine that had been condemned as a heresy at Rome A.D. 375. *Smith*, Dict. of Anc. Biog. &c. *Tillem.* Mém. Eccl. &c. tom. xv. p. 247.

[z] The very error most emphatically protested against by Nestorius.

[a] The principal work of Theodoret of Cyrrhus was entitled Πενταλόγιον ἐνανθρώποσεως—a treatise on the incarnation, in five parts, of which fragments only are extant. *Smith*, art. "Theod."

ence of Theodoret a strong desire is apparent to escape the dangers and criminations to which the extremes on either side of the argument must expose him. He therefore endeavoured to avoid, on the one hand, that rigid severance of the two natures which might lead to a disparagement of the divinity in the Christ; while, on the other, he anxiously repudiated that confusion of both elements or natures which must end in the elimination of the humanity, and strike at the root of the doctrine of the incarnation. After the banishment of Nestorius—four years from his condemnation at Ephesus—he stepped publicly forward as the opponent of Cyril upon his (Cyril's) own ground; and richly earned the bitter hatred of that remorseless bigot. The latter died in the year 444, and bequeathed his revenge to his like-minded successor Dioscorus, and his doctrine to the protection of his friend and old associate Eutyches, the superior of a numerous monastic body at Constantinople, and the spiritual director of Chrysaphius the infamous favourite of Theodosius II.

Eutyches of Constantinople; his theory of the incarnation.

We do not inquire here whether Eutyches had or had not mistaken the doctrine of his master; certain it is that in his exposition of the theses of Cyril he took his stand at once in the extremes of that scheme. He roundly affirmed that "there was but *one nature* in the Christ," which nature he described as the "incarnate Word." He held that the whole Christ was a combination of the human and the divine, hypostatically, that is, so personally and intimately united, that they could not be separated, nor even spiritually discerned as distinct existences. Thus, while the Nestorians affirmed that the person and the human nature of the Christ were alone born of the Virgin, their opponents maintained that both the God and the man, thus undistinguishably blended in the Christ, came forth from the womb of Mary as *perfect God*, and that as God he suffered on the cross.[b] Certainly the Syrian section of

[b] Still, it seems that Eutyches declined the extreme inference from his own premises: he would not pronounce the human body of Christ to be consubstantial with the divine essence; or even that the *union* was personal or

the Ephesine assembly, in their tardy assent to the condemnation of Nestorius, had never dreamt of such a demand being made upon their orthodoxy. Eutyches and his faction, however, had all along suspected that their reluctance to that measure had sprung from a secret proneness to Nestorianism. And when Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and, in advance of both, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, attacked the twelve anathemas, Eutyches and his supporters denounced them as Nestorians to Dioscorus of Alexandria, and forthwith applied to his spiritual pupil Chrysaphius for the material weapons—now of familiar use in theological warfare—to crush his adversaries and maintain the honours of the divine "Theotokos." At the same moment, however, Domnus patriarch of Antioch, successor of John of Ephesine celebrity, put himself at the head of the Syrian party, and charged Eutyches with denying the human nature of the Saviour, consequently the reality of the incarnation, or, indeed, of any true manifestation of the Christ in the flesh.[c] The Byzantine monk found himself suddenly assailed by a clamour of reprobation louder than that he had succeeded in raising against Theodoret and his supporters. The numerous Nestorians of Syria and the East, together with the whole of the moderate, or properly Syrian party, and several others, who had been hitherto regarded as the fast friends of Cyril, now denounced him by the mouth of Eusebius bishop of Dorylæum to the patriarch Flavian of Constantinople, the friend and spiritual director of the Augusta Pulcheria. With her approbation, Flavian immediately convoked a synod of his diocese in the capital: Eutyches was cited, heard, condemned, and deposed, in

He denounces Theodoret, &c.

Domnus of Antioch denounces Eutyches.

Flavian patriarch of Constantinople against Eutyches.

substantial. Indeed, in the term *ὑπόστασις* I am unable to distinguish between the personal and the substantial. Yet the whole dispute seems to turn upon the meaning of this single word. I cannot help suspecting that the monophysite theory was started far more with a view to save the credit of the "Theotokos" than from any desire to establish a clear exposition of the doctrine of the incarnation. Conf. *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. pp. 1073 et sqq. *Smith*, art. "Eutyches." *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 488.

[c] Even Eusebius of Dorylæum, one of the most zealous opponents of Nestorius, raised his voice against the new heresy.

defiance of the influence of Chrysaphius and the court party. The unabashed heretic appealed to the emperor and his favourite; and under their patronage prepared to array as large a body of ecclesiastical influence in his favour as, with such support, he had no doubt of being able to command. His first care was to inform Dioscorus of Alexandria of his critical position; his next, to complain to pope Leo I. of the irregularity and injustice of the proceedings against him;[d] and lastly, he presented a petition to the emperor to call a general council of the Church to decide between him and his adversaries upon the merits of his own cause and the orthodoxy of their respective theories of the incarnation.

Theodosius II. convokes a general council.

Theodosius II. hesitated between the opposing solicitations of his sister Pulcheria and his favourite Chrysaphius. The latter at length succeeded in vanquishing his scruples; and Ephesus was once more to be honoured—or disgraced—by a general assembly of Christian prelates within her walls. Eutyches placed his chief reliance upon Dioscorus and the Egyptian party. His own monks, however, formed a numerous and formidable body-guard, and with the aid of the "parabolani" of Alexandria,—a kind of episcopal militia, ready for any work of vigour or violence that might be demanded of them,[e]—he made no doubt of producing a very sensible impression upon the men of peace he was about to confront. Thus prepared for war, spiritual or carnal, Dioscorus and his friend made their appearance at Ephesus on the 8th of August A.D. 449.

Leo the Great in communication with Flavian.

While the dispute was thus drawing to a head in the East, pope Leo the Great had made himself well acquainted with the dogmatic character of the controversy, and the position of the parties. To such an investigation he had been challenged

[d] *Leon. Mag.* Op. pars ii. p. 96, ed. Cacciari.

[e] These parabolani were a religious corporation embodied for the temporal protection of the church of Alexandria; they were the trabantes or sacred body-guard of the Alexandrine pontiff; a very serviceable excrescence upon the temporal establishment of the Church. See *Godef.* ad *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. ll. 42, 43; tom. vi. pp. 91-94. Conf. Du Cange, Gloss. ad voc. "Parabolani."

by Eutyches himself; and the latter accompanied his request with a positive promise to abide by the papal decision whichever way it might fall out.[f] One of the parties in the cause might thus be taken to have lodged his appeal in the papal court. It was very desirable that the other should take the like step. Leo therefore wrote to Flavian of Constantinople, desiring him without delay to send in the grounds upon which Eutyches had been condemned, and more especially to state why his written notice of appeal exhibited at the synod had not been received and recorded.[g] Flavian, in reply, observed that he had a long time ago written to his holiness communicating all the necessary information as to the condemnation and excommunication of Eutyches, to be laid by him (the pope) before the bishops of his own patriarchate, in order that they might avoid all commerce with the condemned heretic.[h] Before the expiration of a month the missing letters came into the hands of the pope, and Leo acknowledged the receipt in laconic terms, promising at an early period to send him "further *instructions* how he (Flavian) ought to deal with the whole matter." But up to this moment, it is clear that the application of Eutyches to the pope was regarded in different lights at Constantinople and at Rome. The pope saw reason to doubt his power to give it the character requisite to put him in possession of the cause; and stronger reasons still to question his ability to control the turbulent spirits of the East to any useful purpose. He therefore bethought him to transfer the further investigation of the controverted dogmas to the locality where his personal in-

[f] *Leon. Mag.* Op. ed. Cacciari, tom. ii. p. 97. But he made no doubt of the pope's decision in his favour: "Ad vos igitur, religionis defensores, et hujusmodi factiones execrantes confugio," &c.

[g] Cardinal Baronius (who always sees these things through a high magnifying power) contends that Eutyches had appealed to Rome in the full consciousness that the pope of Rome was the legitimate judge in the last resort of all ecclesiastical controversy. Ann. 449, §§ 5, 6. Conf. *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. xx. pp. 91, 92; conf. ep. xxi. ad Theodos. ibid. p. 94.

[h] See id. ibid. p. 105. Cacciari, in his marginal note of the letter of Flavian to this passage, thus abstracts the substance: "Flavianus *petit* ne *occidentales* communicent cum Eutyche." The passage conveys nothing like a *request* of any kind. Nor is the notification for the "occidentales," but simply "omnibus episcopis sub Beatitudine vestra degentibus," *i.e.* to all his suffragan bishops.

fluence, eloquence, and learning might ensure a dutiful submission to the supreme orthodoxy of the see of Peter.

With this view, he requested the emperor Theodosius II. to assemble a general council of Christendom within the confines of Italy, in order, as he said, "that he might thereby cut off all those scandals which had hitherto disturbed the peace of the whole Church."[i] But if pope Leo was really disposed to ground his claim to a control of this character over an œcumenical council of the Church upon the decree of Valentinian III., he was eminently unsuccessful. Neither the emperor nor the patriarch of Constantinople had up to this time taken any notice of that decree; if indeed the ordinance could be at all regarded as applicable to the eastern division of the empire. The oriental churches were accordingly wholly unprepared to adopt a measure which would have substantially transferred to the pope of Rome the right to deal with their domestic disputes as he had done with those of the Gallic churches; and Leo's sound sense must have convinced him of the inexpediency of prematurely raising a question which could have ended no otherwise than in schism or defeat. The pope's request remained unnoticed; and Leo gracefully yielded obedience to the imperial precept, simply intimating his doubt of the expediency of any public discussion of a matter of doctrine already sufficiently settled by the consent of the catholic Church.[j]

Leo demands a general council in Italy.

Leo abandons his demand.

Without further delay, the pope nominated three legates to represent him at the proposed council; but he guarded himself carefully against any other issue of the discussion than that which he should dictate.[k] Leo honestly regarded himself as the divinely-appointed arbiter of all Christian doctrines: his instructions to his legates, therefore, directed them to take no further share in the debates

Treatise of Leo the Great on the doctrine of the incarnation.

[i] *Leon. Mag.* Op. ed. Cacciari, tom. ii. ep. xxiv. p. 110. The date of this letter is the viii[th] kal. Jun. (25th May) 449.

[j] Epp. *Leon. Mag.* tom. ii. ep. xxvii. p. 141. Conf. *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 528.

[k] See the above-quoted epistle; also ep. xxxii. ubi sup. p. 156.

than was necessary to enforce the unqualified acceptance of that predetermined scheme of doctrine which he, in the name of the Church-catholic, should unchangeably declare and establish. With a view, then, to remove all doubt upon a point of such importance to the holy see, and to set forth a doctrinal formula as a standard of orthodoxy on the mysterious dogma of the incarnation, he thought proper, in his reply to the charges brought against Eutyches, to enter at length into the theological question in all its material bearings. To this work he brought all the powers of a mind amply stored with knowledge of his subject, and endowed with no mean powers of reason and induction. His treatise on the incarnation was intended to stand—and, I believe, is allowed to this day to stand—as an authentic exposition of Christian faith respecting the nature of the divine Logos, and the union of the humanity with the divinity in the incarnation of Christ. And it may be admitted that a clearer or more strictly logical analysis of Scripture, and of Scripture only, could hardly have been penned. Adhering as closely as possible to the literal meaning of the Word of God, pretending to no other rule of exposition, nor even any other source of information upon the great subject, recoiling with characteristic good sense from allegorising and mystical explanations transcending the limits of human intelligence, and humbly staying his steps at the boundaries of man's understanding,—he produces before us the whole import and bearing of the Nicene symbol; a conception of the subject equally hostile to the rending and dividing theory imputed to the Nestorians, and of that perilous confusion of the two natures which seemed to result from the theory of Eutyches, as represented to him in the letters of Flavian. That heretic himself is treated as sinning rather from ignorance than pravity, and is visited with no higher penalty than retractation and conformity with the papal decision upon the points in which he had erred. Thus had pope Leo furnished to all Christendom a clear, forcible, and intelligible text-book of instruction, to which all could appeal, and against which none could except but those who refused to adopt

the like rule of scriptural interpretation.[l] But he was careful to fortify his exposition with all the authority of the see of Peter, trusting that with such recommendation its own merits would secure to it every advantage which sense and reason could impart to it over the confused gibberish of the oriental disputants.[m]

Composition, place, and management of the council.

Notwithstanding, however, the pains taken by the pope to place his own position in the council in the most perspicuous light, the precautions adopted by him to appear as the supreme arbiter of the debates seem to have been misapprehended by all parties. Eutyches, notwithstanding his professions of submission, was not disposed to acquiesce in the foregone conclusion of the pope, or to relinquish his chance of a triumph by the skilful use of the ordinary weapons of eastern controversy. It appears, indeed, that all the parties to the proposed discussion were as strongly impressed with a sense of their own infallibility as pope Leo himself. By favour of the court, the fiery Dioscorus, and his pupil Eutyches, obtained the entire direction of all arrangements for the proposed council. Theodoret, the most formidable opponent of the school of Cyril and his monophysite pupils, was confined to his own diocese by an order from the emperor Theodosius; while his fellow-labourer, Ibas of Edessa, was by a like order detained as a state prisoner, and inhumanly dragged by a band of soldiers from one place of exile to another.[n] By the edict of convocation, the synod was to consist of ten metropolitans, and ten bishops from each of the six great dioceses of the East.[o] Barsumas, abbot of the Syrian monks who had distinguished his zeal in the persecution of the Nestorians of that province, was directed to attend as a mem-

[l] It should be noticed that the Deipara Virgo—Theotokos—is passed over in silence. Was this an involuntary compliment to the discernment of Nestorius, or a rebuke to the "hyperdouleia" of the Eutychians? Or, did it arise from an honest, though tacit admission, that nothing was to be found in Scripture to authorise any extraordinary honours to the mother of our Lord?

[m] See the entire document, ap. *Cacciari, Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. xxv. pp. 114 to 131. Also *Baron.* Ann. 449, §§ 46 to 57.

[n] A favourite mode of persecution in that age.

[o] The imperial summons to Dioscorus is set out among the preliminary documents of the great council of Chalcedon. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 71.

ber of the synod. Two military officers, Elpidius and Eulogius, were despatched into Asia, with orders to assemble a formidable military force, and to place themselves at the disposal of Dioscorus, for the ostensible purposes of preventing disorder, watching over the regularity of the proceedings, and communicating with the court during the sessions. Flavian of Constantinople was summoned to attend; but was excluded from voting, upon the plea that he, and all his suffragans who had taken part in the proceedings against Eutyches in the preceding year, stood in the position of delinquents under accusation, and could not be admitted as judges in their own cause; an order which had the effect of excluding forty-two bishops, and among them every defender or friend of Flavian, from speech and vote in the assembly.[p] In the case of Eutyches a different rule was observed, as well as in that of those who supported him at the previous synods at Constantinople. We shall not, however, very deeply resent the absence of every fair principle of judicial investigation, when it is reflected that neither pope Leo nor Flavian and his supporters on the one hand, nor, on the other, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Barsumas, and the host of monastic rabble attendant upon them, came to the meeting with the remotest intention to try the merits of the questions at issue; and that they entertained no other view than to sustain their respective infallibilities, and to suppress, or at all events to silence, their opponents.[q]

Correspondence of pope Leo with the orientals.

Little sagacity was requisite to predict the issue of a tribunal thus judiciously packed to promote a party purpose. Though Domnus of Antioch was the senior patriarch, Dioscorus of Alexandria assumed the presidency without opposition. The three legates of pope Leo represented the majesty of St. Peter's chair. The pope had done all in his power to exorcise the demon of party-spirit; he wrote

[p] *Evag. Schol.* H. E. lib. i. c. 10. Evagrius sets out the ordinances to that effect; and after him *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 76. See also *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 554.

[q] Neither this council, nor that which preceded it at Ephesus in the year 431, have the remotest claim to the character of deliberative assemblies, much less to that of judicial bodies.

conciliatory letters to the superiors of the monastic bodies of Constantinople,[r] drawing their attention to his declaratory letter to Flavian; and at the same time addressed the Augusta Pulcheria, in the hope, through her influence, of neutralising the fatal ascendency of Chrysaphius and the monophysite party over the feeble mind of Theodosius;—if possible, of inducing Eutyches himself to reconsider his opinions by the light which his treatise had thrown upon the subject.[s] His own personal absence from the synod he excused upon the grounds that the uncertain state of political affairs in Italy at that moment rendered his presence at home indispensable; and that he had not met with any precedent for such a relinquishment of his pastoral duties in the records of his church; nevertheless, he had sent brethren to represent him; he besought the Augusta to regard him as present in their persons; and in their instructions to consider his own opinions as fully explained, and his judgment on the question to be unalterably expressed.

Second council of Ephesus.

The legates were prevented by various delays from delivering their letter to Pulcheria. Their journey was protracted by the illness and the death of their colleague the presbyter Renatus; and on their arrival at Ephesus they found the city in military possession of the Egyptian party. Flavian was among them, but, at every step he took out of his own quarters, threatened by a mob composed of the monks of Eutyches and Barsumas, and the militia or parabolani of Dioscorus. The patriarch, Domnus of Antioch, was present with fifteen bishops of his diocese, probably not all of his own selection.[t] On the other hand, the great me-

[r] *Leon. Mag.* Epp. ibid. tom. ii. ep. xxix. p. 147.

[s] Pope Leo appears all along to consider Eutyches as sinning more from ignorance than malignity—that he was rather an instrument in the hands of others than an independent actor in the scene. Leo was proud of his treatise, and had some right to be so; nor did he himself doubt that he had discovered the secret of the Eutychian error therein, that "dum æstimat se religiosius de Filii Dei majestate sentire, si ei naturæ nostræ veritatem inesse non diceret, totum illud 'verbum caro factum est' unius et ejusdem putaret esse substantiæ." Ubi sup. ep. xxviii. p. 145.

[t] *Tillemont* (Mém. Eccl. tom. xv. p. 551) notices one of the number, viz. Eustathius of Berytus, a notorious enemy of Flavian, who was there by special order of the court; and he thinks it probable that the case was the same

tropolitans, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia, acted under special orders from court in support of Dioscorus, but without any control over his proceedings. Every arrangement for the management of the synod was completed by the 8th of August 449. The object in view could be mistaken by no one. Dioscorus, from his presidential throne, determined the precedence of the prelates; he himself took the first place of honour, in virtue of the imperial warrant; the next was assigned to Julius bishop of Puteoli, as representative of the pope; Juvenal of Jerusalem was permitted to take rank of Domnus of Antioch; and after him the fifth chair was insultingly assigned to Flavian of Constantinople, but without privilege of speech or vote. The legate Hilarus found his place among the deputies of other absent bishops, and below that of the abbot Barsumas.[u]

Violent proceedings of the council.

The supreme contempt of the rules of ecclesiastical order which this arrangement betrayed, was a proper prelude to the impudent violation of every law of justice or humanity which distinguished the ulterior proceedings of this general council of the Christian Church.[v] Dioscorus had upon various pretexts succeeded in depriving those members whose opposition might be formidable of the privileges of speech and vote. The assembly was thus reduced to the bishops of Egypt and Palestine, all of them devoted disciples of the schools of Cyril and Eutyches; to which may be added a few time-servers, ever ready to cast their votes

with several others who appear in the list of the Syrian bishops present in council.

[u] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. Act. Prim. Syn. Chalced. p. 83. *Evag.* Schol. H. E. lib. i. c. 10, with the note of Valesius. Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 553.

[v] In point of form this second synod of Ephesus—though now struck out of the list of general councils, and stigmatised by the appellation of the "ruffian" or "robber-synod"—was as complete in all essentials as any subsequent general council. Its œcumenical character was acknowledged by pope Leo the Great; it was convoked by imperial precept, and attended by all the bishops summoned; and unless we hold that its subsequent repudiation by a majority of Christendom destroyed that character, it must still be reputed to stand as such. There is no such difference between the conduct of Cyril at the first, and that of Dioscorus at the second Ephesine council, as to induce us to accept the former and reject the latter. Upon the level of moral merit they stand pretty equal. As to doctrinal orthodoxy, it is probable that few men of sound understanding would give any great credit to either.

into the scale of the stronger party. After the necessary preliminary forms had been scrupulously gone through,[w] bishop Julius of Puteoli presented his credentials, and handed in the treatise of pope Leo addressed to Flavian, moving at the same time that it be publicly read and inserted on the minutes. But it did not lie in the plan of Dioscorus to permit any inquiry into matters of faith, and he objected to the motion, on the ground that the only question before the council was, whether the proceedings at the two previous synods held at Constantinople against Eutyches were canonical and regular, or otherwise.[x] The faith of the Church, he said, was already irrevocably settled by the councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, and consequently no discussion on the subject was now admissible; the letter of the pope, being understood to contain an exposition of the faith, must therefore be considered as irrelevant to the matter in hand, and could only be respectfully received and laid upon the table.[y]

Brutal and unjust demeanour of the council.

It was obvious that Dioscorus thus shut out the theological merits of the case with no other view than to exclude any possible ground of defence on the part of his adversary. If Eutyches had not offended in matter of doctrine, he had committed no offence at all, and his condemnation was a wanton act of injustice. Flavian had no ground to stand upon but the merits of the prior adjudication.[z] No question was raised but that of the union of the two natures; and when precluded from maintaining the orthodoxy of his doctrine upon that point, his condemnation was sealed. But all his attempts to introduce any kind of exculpatory matter were drowned by the yells of the opposite faction. His confession of faith was read amid the execrations of the

[w] The reading of the imperial letters of convocation, the instructions to the commissioners Elpidius and Eulogius, and the articles of impeachment against Flavian. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii., Actio Prim. Synod. Chalcedon, where all these proceedings are recorded against Dioscorus and the Eutychians.

[x] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 94, 95.

[y] See the complaint of Leo to Theodosius, ap tom. ii. ep. xli. p. 179; Act. Prim. Syn. Chalced. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 87 to 89. The council of Chalcedon made the refusal to read the letter of Leo to Flavian a principal ground of the deposition of Dioscorus.

[z] See the complaint of Flavian in *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 215. Conf. the defence of Basilius of Seleucia at the council of Chalcedon. Ibid. p. 214.

miscellaneous mob who ruled the proceedings;[a] the few who were inclined to befriend him deserted him one by one, and Dioscorus proceeded to pronounce the confession of Eutyches orthodox, and to reinstate him in the priesthood and the government of his community.[b] Many of the prelates present who had been parties to his prior condemnation now hastened to make their peace with the victorious faction; and even they who had been excluded from the deliberations of the council were called upon to sign the judgment of the majority. The last act in this drama of folly and wickedness remained to be performed. Dioscorus moved the condemnation and deposition of Flavian of Constantinople; he exhorted the bishops freely to express their opinions upon the question; but, in the same breath, reminded them that whatever they said or did would be recorded against them, and reported to the emperor.[c] Flavian, driven to extremities, now for the first time fairly confronted his insolent adversary; he explicitly repudiated his jurisdiction, and handed in to the papal legates a formal protest, with notice of his intention to throw himself on the judgment of the pope and a future general council of the Church.[d]

Appeal of Flavian.

The legate Hilarus and his colleague assented to the justice of Flavian's complaint; they accepted his appeal, and supported him with all the zeal their ignorance of the Greek language and the strangeness of the scene permitted.[e] A few hands were now raised in supplication on behalf of the victim of the felonious violence and injustice of Dioscorus and the Egyptian faction; but the haughty hierarch spurned them from his footstool; he declaimed against them as raisers of sedition, and denounced them to the imperial commissioners as rebels and intruders. The latter entered with a band of soldiers displaying fetters to bind the refractory, and followed by a troop of mixed rabble armed with swords and staves. The clamorous monks

Compulsory signature of the condemnation of Flavian.

[a] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 162, 163. S. Leon. Epp. tom. ii. ep. xl. p. 175.
[b] *Ibid.* p. 238.
[c] *Ibid.* ubi sup. p. 258.
[d] *Ibid.* Act. Prim. Concil. Chalced. Conf. *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 568.
[e] Epp. *S. Leon. Mag.* ibid. tom. ii. p. 179, ep. xli.; conf. ep. xl. pp. 175, 177.

of Barsumas, and the formidable parabolani of Dioscorus, surrounded the building and prevented all egress; and the latter, taking advantage of the panic he had inspired, proposed that all present should upon the spot affix their signatures to the act of deposition.[f] But the reluctance of many prelates to subscribe was so manifest, that the oppressors at length resorted to kicks and blows to expel the last emotions of self-respect and sense of justice from their timid spirits. After a detention of many hours, amid mortal apprehension, and suffering from fatigue and hunger in the confined atmosphere of a building not too spacious to accommodate their numbers, the signatures were at length extorted.[g] The legates of the pope alone steadfastly resisted the threats and solicitations addressed to them in order to obtain their approval. Flavian, whose courage appears never to have deserted him, resolved as a last effort to defy the wrath of his adversaries. Again he bravely presented his written protest and appeal to the pope and a general council, and insisted on the document being inserted on the minutes. Exasperated beyond the limits of oriental forbearance, Dioscorus inflicted blows and kicks upon his prostrate antagonist; Juvenal, Barsumas, Peter Mongus, and others, repeated these dastardly assaults with the fury of wild-beasts and the language of maniacs. The injured patriarch was carried out of this "den of thieves" so seriously bruised and wounded, that he died in the cus-

Brutality of Dioscorus and his friends.

Murder of Flavian.

[f] See the narrative of Basilius bishop of Selencia to the council of Chalcedon, *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 214, 215. There is some confusion in the accounts of the mode in which the signatures were obtained — whether they were, in the hurry, appended to the rough minutes of the proceedings; or whether blank signatures were given, and the formal act afterwards inserted, is uncertain. But there is no doubt that every member of the council, to the number of one hundred and thirty-nine bishops and five deputy-priests, affixed their names to this goodly document.

[g] Compare the depositions of the Oriental bishops before the council of Chalcedon, ap. *Hard* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 79-82; and conf. *Tillemont*, ubi sup. p. 571. We can hardly concur with Tillemont in his reprobation of the derisive sneer with which Dioscorus repelled the plea of duress put in at Chalcedon by the recreant prelates of Ephesus. Their allegation that they were compelled to sign a blank sheet is almost incredible; neither is it improbable that persons who, to save their places, or their persons from violence, would thus belie their own convictions, would also exaggerate the violence and suffering inflicted, to make the case better for themselves.

tody of his jailors three days afterwards of the injuries received.[h] Eusebius of Dorylæum, his fellow-sufferer, was consigned to the same inhuman custody; but soon contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers, and after incurring many hardships and dangers found an asylum under the protection of pope Leo at Rome.[i] Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Ibas of Edessa, Domnus of Antioch, with other opponents of the school of Cyril, came under the lash of Dioscorus and Juvenal. Theodoret was honoured by their special attentions: they cursed his doctrine and his person; they excommunicated and deposed him, and forbade all men even to speak to him, to afford him a roof or raiment to cover him, or food to save him from starvation. Ibas of Edessa underwent the same sentence. Both were indeed cited in proper form; but as both were at that moment well known to be in confinement at a distance of five hundred miles from Ephesus, and that neither of them could answer to his name, they were condemned by default. As if, in the blindness of their rage, Dioscorus and his faction had resolved to furnish their opponents with every variety of inculpatory matter against themselves, they proceeded to deal in like manner with Domnus of Antioch as a convicted Nestorian, upon the ground of his having formerly attacked the twelve anathemas of Cyril.[j] This appears to have been the closing act of the

Condemnation of Domnus, Theodoret, &c.

[h] Liberatus, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 449, §§ 105-107. Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 573. The cause and manner of the death of Flavian are not altogether free from doubt. The murder must have been perpetrated in August 449; but pope Leo believed him to have been alive in October of that year, and even as late as the month of March 450. Neither in the lists of the council of Chalcedon, nor in the writings of Leo himself, nor those of Theodoret, do we find a detail of the manner of Flavian's death. Though Eusebius of Dorylæum and others call Dioscorus the "murderer of Flavian," they might mean only that his persecutors had hastened the death of the aged sufferer. Liberatus seems to be the only voucher for the acts of violence committed upon the person of Flavian; though much other mention occurs of the kicks and cuffs administered to other recusant or reluctant bishops. The testimonies of Zonaras and Theophanes come too late in the day.

[i] *Leon. Mag.* Epp. tom. ii. p. 245. See also Liberatus, as extracted by *Baron.* Ann. 449. See also the Ep. of Theodoret to Leo in Op. Leon. Mag. tom. ii. p. 215; and the same to the legate Renatus, ibid. p. 219.

[j] The monophysites always regarded Cyril as the prophet and patriarch of their sect, and his twelve anathemas as their creed. They invariably made it a great point to confound all opponents of that creed with the Nestorians, against whom it was levelled. Hence their violent assault upon Domnus. *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 581.

tragi-comedy performed before the world at the second general council of Ephesus held in the year 449.

The advantage of Rome in the results of the council.

It is hardly possible to conceive a more favourable opportunity for the augmentation of the power and influence of Rome in the Christian world than was supplied by the acts and proceedings of this council. Irrespective of doctrinal error, there was enough to interest all the sympathies of mankind in the punishment of the evil-doers. The ill-treatment of Flavian; the unmitigated injustice of his condemnation; the intimidation and trickery displayed in the exclusion of all due inquiry into the merits of his cause, and depriving him of every means of defence; and the violence and cruelty exercised to extort the concurrence of the reluctant minority,—were so many gross blunders, the mere suggestions of blind uncalculating passion. The eagle eye of the Roman pontiff detected the whole amount and value of the advantages thus afforded for the extension of his spiritual influence. The East and the West resounded with the cries of the injured; all eyes were turned towards Rome; some for revenge, others for redress, others again from heartfelt disgust at the enormities committed in the name of religion; a minority perhaps from the simple desire of a party triumph. Amid disorders like those of Ephesus no one could undertake to define or restrict the right of interference to obtain, *quacunque viâ*, redress for such enormous wrong. In truth, the ruffian-like demeanour of the dominant party entitled the pope to treat the synod—though in all outward respects invested with the attributes of an œcumenical council of Christendom—as a mere conspiracy of robbers, and its acts as void, on the ground of fraud, immorality, and violence. The appeal of Flavian was an appeal to humanity and justice against wrong and outrage; and it imposed upon all who possessed the power to afford redress not merely a right, but a duty to relieve religion from the deep disgrace brought upon her by the late iniquitous proceedings at Ephesus. Irrespectively therefore of the prerogative of the see of Peter, the right of intervention on the part of pope Leo stood clear of all objection upon the

simple grounds of Christian duty. But by placing that right upon such grounds he could have occupied no more eminent position than that of any other member of the Christian body, each of whom might, under the same circumstances, claim the same right with equal propriety. But the position of the pope in the Church was so irrevocably determined by the edict of Valentinian III., that he could not take up any lower ground without impugning the principle and forfeiting all the advantages of the decree. The language of a simple advocate of peace and justice must fall flat and meaningless from the lips of the monarch of the Church. He therefore assumed the position thus assigned to himself and his church with as much of the true spirit of a Christian minister as was consistent with so proud a pretension to spiritual supremacy.

How improved by Leo the Great.

Early in the year 450 the emperor Valentinian III., with the empress Eudoxia and his mother Placidia, arrived at Rome upon a visit of devotion to the shrine of the apostle. Pope Leo, surrounded by his clergy and a great concourse of prelates from all parts of Italy, received the imperial guests in the church of St. Peter. After the usual services, the pope addressed the august party; and—so we are told—with eyes streaming with tears, and a voice broken with sobs, implored them, by the apostle Peter, to reflect upon the late enormities committed at Ephesus—the faith corrupted—the venerable Flavian expelled from his church—the sacrilegious insolence of the heretics—the perilous state of the Church-catholic: for all these evils there was, he said, no remedy but in a faithful recurrence to the chair of Peter, to which was committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and "to which hath belonged from all time *the principality, the power, and the place of supreme judge* of the entire priesthood." It was therefore the duty of the prince promptly to write to his colleague Theodosius to demand that a general council of the Church be convoked without delay *within the confines of Italy;* in order that, *under the presidency of the pontiff, and in manner and form as should be pre-*

Pope Leo demands a general council.

scribed by the apostolic see, all matters in difference should be determined, and all the late disorders judicially redressed and set at rest.[k]

The western court lost no time in complying with the request of the pope. Letters from the emperor, his wife, and mother, were despatched to Theodosius in the terms suggested by the pontiff. To these applications the eastern sovereign shortly replied, that he saw no reason for disturbing the decision of the late council at Ephesus. He had not, he said, himself been guilty of any departure from the faith, nor did he know of any such error on the part of the council; no one had been condemned who had not deserved punishment; Flavian himself had only received the recompense due to his perversity; by his deposition peace had been restored to the Church; lastly, he declared that what had been already determined by *a divinely inspired* council could not be the subject of reconsideration.[l] The insufficiency of these allegations was apparent in the daily exasperation of the religious ferment in the East. Leo diligently fed the flame by his correspondence with the malcontent party, bishops, monks, ecclesiastics of all ranks, in the distracted church of Constantinople. Dioscorus at the same point of time revenged the proposed reversal of the Ephesine decrees by launching a sentence of excommunication against pope Leo;[m] a step which, without improving his own position, only tended to envenom the opposition against himself. His enemies at Constantinople, in fact, under the encouraging patronage of the Augusta Pulcheria, stood by this time in intimate correspondence with his great adversary and the court of Ravenna.[n] His interest at the court of Constantinople now rested almost solely upon the credit of the eunuch

Theodosius declines; Dioscorus excommunicates Leo.

[k] See the letters of Valentinian, Eudoxia, and Placidia, written at the request—probably by the dictation—of Leo. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 35-39. Epp. *S. Leon.* ed. Cacciari, tom. ii. pp. 203, 205, 206, 208.

[l] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 39-42.

[m] See report of the council of Chalcedon to him, ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 655. Conf. Epp. *S. Leon.* ubi sup. p. 285. Theodore of Alexandria repeated the charge before the council of Chalcedon. *Hard.* ibid. p. 323.

[n] Op. *Leon. Mag.* ep. Hilari ad Pulcher. ubi sup. p. 210. Ep. Placid. ad Pulch. ibid. p. 208. Leon. ad Pulch. ep. xlix. ibid. p. 222. Ep. Leon. ad Martinum et Faustum, ep. l. p. 223.

Chrysaphius, while at the same time an active cabal was on foot prepared to avail itself of the earliest opportunity to crush both him and his patron.

Inattention of the Orientals to the papal claim.

But though all who had suffered by the tyranny of the late synod were equally anxious to obtain the support of the pope, and equally ready to profess the most humble submission to his decision, it is remarkable that the specific ground upon which he based his right of intervention called forth no response from his Oriental correspondents.° "*The principality, the power, and the place of universal judge*," found no echo in the East. It is not improbable that the sycophantic spirit which runs through the correspondence of the eastern prelates blinded them to the proud sincerity of the papal pretensions; and while they merely thought of making a useful friend, it did not occur to them that they were very demurely fitting the yoke of a master upon their own necks. And as far as the spirit of faction is capable of receiving instruction from the march of events, the results of the great council of Chalcedon, to which our attention will be called in the ensuing chapter, could hardly fail to reveal to them the extent to which their abject professions of submission and obedience were deemed to have pledged them to the claims of the great Latin patriarch.

° If any such had been forthcoming, it would surely have been found in the letters of the zealous Theodoret. He admits the initiative in ecclesiastical action to belong to the see of Rome; but upon the true grounds, viz. those of the greatness, splendour, and vast population of the city, as the seat of empire; —of the purity of her faith, renowned throughout the world—the great learning and worth of her presiding pontiff, &c. He therefore awaits her decision with humble hope and confidence (that it would agree with his own). But not a word about the "chair of Peter," not a syllable of echo to the papal claim to the "principality, the power, and the place of supreme judge." &c. See the Letters of Theodoret, Op. *Leon. Mag.* ubi sup. pp. 212, 218, 220.

CHAPTER V.

THE LEONINE PERIOD. (II.)

Papal ascendency in the West under Leo the Great—Influence of Leo in the East—Pope Leo's instructions to Anatolius—Pope Leo's scheme of an Italian council disappointed—Precautionary measures of pope Leo—Convocation of a general council at Chalcedon—Appointment of legates—Leo's suspicions of Anatolius—His plan of management—Hierarchical position of the church of Constantinople—The political and spiritual theories of ecclesiastical rank—Edict of Theodosius II. on behalf of Constantinople—Opposition of pope Boniface I.—Weakness of the claim of Constantinople to hierarchical rank—Grounds of the controversy—The pope's instructions against Anatolius—Council of Chalcedon; its constituency and order of proceeding—Proceedings against Dioscorus—Equivocal conduct of the legates—Sentence upon Dioscorus—The records of the council—Signatures—Settlement of disputed claims urged by the emperor—Motion and decree in favour of Constantinople—Opposition of the legates in council—Spurious prefix to the vith canon of Nicæa—Confirmation of the decree of equal privilege on behalf of Constantinople—Protest of the papal legates—Report of the council to pope Leo—Special report of Anatolius—Indignation of pope Leo—Pope Leo's grounds for repudiating the xxviiith canon of Chalcedon—Leo's invective against Anatolius—He formally quashes the xxviiith canon—Character of pope Leo's opposition to the xxviiith canon, &c.—His scheme of church-legislation—The council a *ministerial* body only—Tergiversations of the patriarch Anatolius—Exceptive adoption of the Chalcedonian decrees by pope Leo—Rupture between Anatolius and pope Leo—His method of religious government—submission of Anatolius—Character of the submission.

Papal ascendency in the West under Leo the Great.

THE judicious management of pope Leo the Great throughout the controversy in which he was at this moment involved is conspicuous at every step; and we cordially accept the boldness, openness, and consistency of his language as proof of the sincerity of his convictions. The littleness of shift or compromise was foreign from his noble character; and none but the false and equivocating Greek could have quitted his presence without exactly understanding

the ground upon which he had taken his stand. He began by furnishing to all Christendom a clear and intelligible text-book of doctrine upon the subject in dispute.[a] His public writings loudly proclaimed to the world in all its naked absolutism the uncompromising nature of the authority by which he authenticated it; and in that spirit it was implicitly accepted by the emperor Valentinian III., his empress Eudoxia, and his mother Placidia. This correspondence of opinion and feeling between the spiritual and secular governments of the West[b] is very clearly indicated in the documents referred to in the preceding chapter. To the emperor Theodosius pope Leo predicated of himself that "he had from all time, and with the full assent of the councils of the Church, received from the prince of the apostles a power and an authority, for the defence of the faith and the peace of the Church, which could neither be skaken, nor even controverted by any person or power upon earth." The reply of Valentinian, in the corresponding address to his imperial colleague of the East, was a simple echo of this transcendental claim: "On my arrival at Rome (said the emperor) and in the basilica of the blessed Peter, I was besought by the bishop of the city, and by the bishops assembled there from many provinces, to write to your majesty in defence of the faith: and this I think myself bound to do, that I may protect with all due devotion the faith transmitted to me by my predecessors, and that I may in these our own times preserve inviolate the dignity of the blessed apostle Peter, whereby the bishop of the most holy church of Rome hath *from the beginning* enjoyed, and doth enjoy, the sacerdotal principality over all churches, and hath jurisdiction and power to sit in judgment in all matters touching the faith and the priesthood."[c] The fervid devotion of the empress Placidia inspired a tone of warmer attachment. Appealing to the canons of the Church[d] on behalf of the im-

[a] See ch. iv. of this Book.

[b] See the correspondence ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 35-39.

[c] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 35. *Baron.* Ann. 449, §§ 156 and 161.

[d] The canons of Sardica in their suppositious junction with those of Nicæa are here adverted to.

memorial jurisdiction of Rome in all matters of faith and discipline, she implored Theodosius to put an end to the existing disturbances in the Church, and to preserve the purity of the faith, in such wise that, agreeably to the treatise of pope Leo addressed to Flavian, which by them in the West was respected and observed as superior to all other authority, the cause of Flavian might be referred to the judgment of a council of the apostolic see—a see in which he who had received the keys of the celestial kingdom did resolve and ordain the principality of the episcopate to reside.[e]

Influence of Leo in the East.

As the appeal now stood upon the applications of Flavian, Theodoret, and Eusebius of Dorylæum, pope Leo was, as between them and himself, fully invested with the character of judge as the proper organ of a general council. The opposite parties could, however, be brought into court only by the intervention of a council, in which he should preside; for thus only could a complete ecclesiastical judicature be constituted, and the pope be enabled to stand forth as the director and arbiter of the proceedings. Such in fact was the project of Leo; and to that end he and his emissaries in the East were directing all their efforts. Their exertions, seconded by the disgust which the tyrannical proceedings of Dioscorus and Juvenal had engendered among the Oriental prelacy, drew the bishops of the Antiochian, Asian, and Pontican dioceses around the Augusta Pulcheria, whom Leo had succeeded in attaching to his interests. His opponents meanwhile were compactly arrayed under the despotic sway of Dioscorus; while Anatolius, the newly elected successor of Flavian, stood silently by watching the movements of the court between the Egyptian party and their antagonists,[f] without soliciting the support or enjoying the confidence of either. The bishops of Palestine, under Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Berytus,[g] adhered faithfully

[e] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. 35. *Baron.* Ann. 449, § 161.

[f] Anatolius had sent his letters of communion to pope Leo immediately after his election. See the fragment still extant in Op. *Leon. Mag.* tom. ii. p. 231.

[g] According to the questionable au-

to the Egyptians; and thus to all appearance the parties in the controversy were too nearly balanced to afford any encouragement to the hopes and expectations of the Roman pontiff. But at this moment the sudden death of Theodosius II. reversed the whole aspect of affairs, religious and political, in the East. The Augusta Pulcheria succeeded to the whole power of her deceased brother; the favourite Chrysaphius was put to death without a form of trial; and Pulcheria soon afterwards gave her hand to Marcianus, a soldier of fortune, and a man of ability and probity,[h] who professed religious opinions corresponding with her own. The legates whom Leo had accredited to the court of Theodosius II. were received by the new sovereign with distinguished honours. The remains of the martyr Flavian were translated with exceeding ceremony, and all the worship due to the relics of a saint, from the place of their accidental interment to the patriarchal church of the capital. The bishops who had been deposed, excommunicated, or exiled by the second council of Ephesus—now distinguished by the title of the "ruffian council"—were restored to their sees; and Anatolius, who owed his elevation to Eutychian patronage, was compelled to wash out the stain of an heretical election by a plenary confession and subscription of the standard of orthodoxy unfurled by pope Leo in his letter or treatise addressed to his sainted predecessor.[i]

Pope Leo's instructions to Anatolius.

The unconditional surrender of Anatolius was followed by a full and frank display of the papal policy. The pontiff transmitted to him minute and peremptory orders how to deal with the wrongdoers, as well as those whom they had wronged, at the late synod of Ephesus. But he did not specify any particular laws or canons of the Church by which he (Anatolius) was to be guided; he deprecated all sy-

thority of *Liberatus*, in his work entitled Breviar. de Schism. Nest. et Eutych. c. 12, all these bishops had been excommunicated by pope Leo. *Baron.* Ann. 449, § 169.

[h] At the advanced age of fifty years the princess was naturally more anxious for a friend to guide than a husband to comfort her. She is said to have made a vow of perpetual virginity, and consequently to have inserted a stipulation to that effect in her marriage-contract. *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 610.

[i] Ep. Pulch. Aug. ad Leon. Op. tom. ii. p. 243, and the reply of Leo, ep. lx. p. 244.

nodal action that might derogate from the absolute character he desired to establish for himself and his see; he treated the patriarch as a simple instrument or conduit-pipe to convey his mandates for the absolution and reinstatement, or for the detrusion and excommunication of the participators in the late nefarious transactions, according to the degree of merit or of guilt which it pleased him to impute; he desired him thoroughly to understand that his functions in these respects could have no legal validity excepting by virtue of the papal commission; and that his personal qualification to exercise them at all was the simple consequence of the pardon extended to him by the apostolic see for his own known delinquencies.[j] In this instance, as in all others, pope Leo desired to bring the "superabounding authority" of the Petrine see into the fullest view and the most decisive action. He wished it to be fairly understood that, in all measures for the pacification of the Church, the Catholic world was to take its directions from that see, and look to its approval as the seal of Christian communion, and to its dictates as the sole standard of orthodoxy.[k] The extinction of the Eutychian schism was regarded by this pontiff as work cut out for his own hands; and the decree of Valentinian III. was to be the instrument for its accomplishment; in such wise that every measure to that end should appear to move from himself alone.[l]

Pope Leo's scheme, and its disappointment.

We think the sincerity of pope Leo's convictions as to the scope and extent of the Petrine powers cannot be questioned. But his great strength lay in the adroitness with which he

[j] See these remarkable instructions in Op. *S. Leon.* tom. ii. ep. lxi. ad Anatolium, p. 246; and conf. ep. lxvi. ad eund. p. 255.

[k] The works of this pontiff furnish a running commentary upon the decree of Valentinian III., set out in the preceding chapter.

[l] The papal advocates are in the habit of insisting upon these pretensions as evidence of an acknowledged *right* to entertain and carry them into execution. There would be no harm in this to the *intelligent* inquirer; but it must be admitted that the bullying tone (we have no other word for it) in which they insist upon this thoroughly irrational mode of reasoning is sometimes a little provoking. At the same time we allow that the "Novatores"—a name the good cardinal Baronius delights to bestow upon his opponents the Centuriators—are almost equally rude in their comments on those pretensions.

managed to identify those powers with the real and manifest interests of the Christian profession. No one dared to gainsay the right of the first bishop of Christendom to interfere for the suppression of the unutterable disorders under which the vital strength of the Church was wasting away. Personally he was both a better Christian and an abler divine than any of his contemporaries or opponents; and in weight of character he was immeasurably superior to them all. And now, by the changes in the East, he was clothed with the character and function of arbiter of the controversy, and the spontaneously elected leader of the universal movement arising out of the late enormities committed at Ephesus. But with all this there were weak points in his position. The advantages he enjoyed were still very far from establishing his theory of the universal primacy. Whatever may have been the understanding of the Latin churches upon that subject, the professions of his Oriental friends amounted to little more than flattering formalities, as remote as possible from an intentional surrender of the liberties of their churches to the "superabounding" authority of St. Peter's chair. The first disappointment he encountered was the inability to bring the proposed general council under his own immediate influence and control. Upon the first impulse of religious emotion, Marcian and Pulcheria had indeed consented to the convocation of the council in any place most convenient to the pope.[m] But Italy was at this moment no safe place of sojourn for so numerous and defenceless an assemblage. The formidable Attila, diverted probably by the determined attitude of Marcian, had abandoned or postponed the projected conquest of Constantinople, and instead of it had overrun the whole of Germany and northern Gaul to the banks of the Loire. Though repulsed at Chalons by a confederacy of nations brought to bear upon him and his hosts by the activity of the magister militum Aëtius, his power remained unbroken; and throughout the whole of the year 451 he hovered like a storm-cloud over the Alpine frontier of Italy. There no army existed to oppose

[m] Ep. Marcian. ad Leon., Op. *Leon. Mag.* tom. ii. p. 249.

him in the field; the country was but just recovering from one of the most terrible famines upon record.[n] Among a community heart-broken by terror and suffering, there remained but one gallant spirit to stem the tide of destruction which threatened to overwhelm the land. But even that indomitable man, divided as he was between the interests of religion, as he conceived them, and the impending ruin of his people, felt his inability to grapple at once with all the manifold difficulties and dangers which surrounded him. As it was, ecclesiastical jealousies opposed serious obstacles to an Italian synod, and it was foreseen that the distances which the Oriental bishops would have to travel must at all events greatly retard the meeting, diminish its numbers, and impair its authority.

Precautionary measures of pope Leo.

Long and anxiously did pope Leo ponder over his cherished scheme of a general council of the churches of Christendom within the confines of Italy, whereby he proposed bringing the combined weight of the Petrine prerogative, with that of the united civil governments of both divisions of the empire, and of the more tractable episcopacy of the West, to bear upon the great questions at issue, and secure the triumph of his own organic scheme of doctrine and church-government.[o] Convinced, however, of the present impracticability of this design, he still thought that much might be done to protect the great principle of papal intervention against any dangerous contradiction.[p] To that end, he spared no pains to ascertain the disposition and make sure of the obedience of his friends in the East, more especially at Constantinople. He was jealous in exacting all the customary observances due to the dignity of the holy see, and above all things anxious to impart to them his own colouring;[q] he scru-

[n] Chron. *Dufresnoy*, vol. ii. p. 48.

[o] Pope Leo's theory of church-government leaves the respective shares of the Church and the State in the production of that external unity he desired to see established, in great uncertainty. His views appear to have been confined to the single conviction that both acting in perfect concord with each other must be invincible against every enemy temporal or spiritual. See his ep. ad Marcian. Aug. ep. lxiii. p. 250.

[p] See ep. lxxv. ibid. p. 268, and conf. ep. lxiii. ubi sup.

[q] See ep. liv. ibid. p. 234.

pulously insisted upon the universality of the Petrine prerogative, and the imperative duty of all Christians to cooperate with the chair of Peter in governing and purifying the Church of Christ.[r] As a necessary proceeding preparatory to the meeting of the proposed council, he instructed the compliant Anatolius to assemble a synod at Constantinople of all the bishops and prelates of the East who might be at that moment present. At that meeting, as soon as it met, the papal legates presented the dogmatic formula known as the "Letter to Flavian" to every prelate for his signature. All signed without demur, thereby irrevocably committing themselves to a form of doctrine resting solely upon the pontifical authority, and precluding all inquiry or discussion of that or any other scheme of Christian faith on the points involved in it.[s] To dissipate all uncertainty upon this preliminary point, this synod of Constantinople, under instructions from Rome, republished the pontifical anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches: the patriarchs and metropolitans of the East were directed to strike out the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal, Eustathius of Berytus, and of all other the persecutors of Flavian, from the usual prayers of the churches;[t] and he ordered that those bishops who had simply participated in the acquittal and rehabilitation of Eutyches at Ephesus, and had since repented of their great sin, should for the present forfeit privilege of office, and be excluded from communion every where but within the limits of their own parishes[u]—an ordinance, we are bound to observe, founded upon no known ecclesiastical law or practice, and resting solely upon the abnormal and exceptional authority of the Petrine power. But that was precisely the ground upon which he desired to place it; he wished it to be regarded as a correctional measure emanating from himself in his character of supreme visitor and judge of all churches. Now, although the bishops of the great

Nature and effect of these measures.

[r] Ep. ad Martin. ep. lvi. p. 238; ad Faust et Martin. ep. lvii. p. 239; ad Faust. ep. lviii. p. 240.

[s] Ep. Pulcher. Aug. ad Leon. ubi sup. p. 243; Leo ad Pulcher. Aug. (the reply) ep. lx. p. 244; and ejusd. ep. lxi. ad Anatol. p. 246; ep. lxiii. p. 251.

[t] Leon. Mag. ep. lxi. p. 247.

[u] Ejusd. ep. lxi. p. 247.

Syrian diocese were the very men whose delinquencies this ordinance was intended to reach, yet so great was their satisfaction at their emancipation from the tyranny of Dioscorus and Juvenal, that they subscribed the formula of pope Leo, with all its attendant conditions, with alacrity;[v] and thus, before the midsummer of the year 451, almost all who had participated in the Ephesine irregularities had solemnly retracted their former errors, and done their best to merit the pardon of the apostolic see.[w]

Convocation of a general council at Chalcedon.

The earlier summons of the emperor Marcian to the bishops of the East had indicated the city of Nicæa in Bithynia as the place of meeting; but the sudden appearance of the Huns in Illyricum summoned the emperor to arms; and, for the greater convenience of communication, the meeting was adjourned to Chalcedon, a city separated from the capital only by the width of the Thracian Bosphorus.[x] In the hope that a short delay might remove the obstacles to the convocation of the council in Italy, pope Leo had requested of the emperor a postponement of the day of meeting;[y] but the Orientals, at the suggestion of the zealous Theodoret, clamoured for the judgment of the Church against their oppressors; the bishops deposed by the late council of Ephesus were impatient of any delay which might interfere with their speedy restoration to their sees; and the emperor was too sensible of the value of religious peace to his shattered and wasted provinces to permit the continuance of the actual state of agitation and uncertainty in the minds of his subjects.[z] Pope Leo yielded at length to this pressure from without, and nominated four ecclesiastics to represent him at the council. In his public credentials to his legates he said that, though he had greatly desired a council in which *all the priests of the Lord* might have met for a common purpose, yet as it had pleased the emperor, no doubt for good and sufficient reasons, to fix upon a locality whither

[v] *Leon. Mag.* ep. lxix. ubi sup. p. 258.

[w] See *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. pp. 617-621.

[x] *Evag.* Schol. H. E. lib. ii. c. 3. The day named was the 1st September 451.

[y] *Leon. Mag.* ep. lxxiv. p. 266.

[z] *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 629. Conf. the authorities above cited, particularly ep. lxxiv. p. 266.

he could not resort in person, he had sent them his brethren Paschasienus and Lucentius, with the presbyters Bonifacius and Basilius, to be present at, and *in his name* to preside over, the meeting, *in all proceedings saving harmless the rights and honours of the apostolic see:* in every other respect the fathers might regard him as present in their persons, and take from them, as from his own lips, the form of sound doctrine he had some time since published to the world.[a] With these legates he afterwards associated Julian bishop of Cos, one of the most active of the papal agents in the East.[b] From the outset of his intercourse with Anatolius of Constantinople it is obvious that the pope entertained grave suspicions of his fidelity to his engagements. Two papal emissaries had been all along in attendance upon him, watching all his steps, and conveying the papal orders under which he was expected to act. The tone of pope Leo's letters, and his whole mode of dealing with the patriarch, betray the little confidence he entertained of his integrity. Hence the harsh and peremptory tone of his letters,[c] and the desire to impress him with a sense of his utter dependence upon the holy see at every stage in the impending proceedings. In doctrinal respects, it is not so easy to understand the pope's suspicions. Perhaps, indeed, it was not these which gave him the greater anxiety. The position of Anatolius as the rival of Rome seems to have been ever uppermost in his mind. Some anticipatory apprehensions had obviously occurred to him of something that might impugn or trench upon the "rights and honours of the apostolic see." At all events, it is clear that from the beginning he had resolved not to be bound by any act of the council that might prejudice his supremacy, either as touching the Petrine prerogative, or the form of doctrine he had published to the world.

Appointment of legates.

Leo's suspicions of Anatolius.

The public credentials of the legates of pope Leo furnish, we think, the key to his conduct. The sagacious

[a] Viz. the treatise addressed to Flavian, *Leon. Mag.* ep. lxxii. ad Syn. Chalced. p. 262.

[b] *Leon. Mag.* ep. lxxii. p. 262.

[c] See particularly ep. lxi. p. 246, ep. lxviii. p. 257, and ep. lxxi. p. 261.

pontiff foresaw a struggle on the part of the see of Constantinople to take up a position in the Church on the very level of Rome herself. Hence a single word of direct verbal acknowledgment of the Petrine prerogative would have been more welcome to him than all the flattering assurances of devotion and submission which poured in upon him from his Oriental friends. His rank in the hierarchy was indeed undisputed; his right, as first bishop of Christendom, to preside over the council—though composed exclusively of the Oriental prelacy—was admitted without a dissentient voice. Yet something was wanting as long as the stamp of œcumenical recognition was withheld; and it was clear to pope Leo that this defect could not be remedied as long as there remained an equal or a competitor upon the lists of the hierarchy. But was any such direct recognition attainable? And if not, might not the same result be obtained by the humiliation of the most formidable of his patriarchal rivals—by unconscious adoption—by tacit submission—and on his own part by prescribing and pursuing a system of management which should repress and destroy all authoritative action but that of the see of Peter? The conduct of men is, after all, the most faithful index of their intentions; and, viewed in that light, the conduct of Leo the Great in this emergency leaves little doubt upon our minds that these questions had been maturely considered.

His plan of management.

A short retrospect will be useful to recall to our recollection the precise position of the Byzantine patriarchate at the opening of the great synod of Chalcedon.

The general council held at Constantinople in the year 381 had assigned to New Rome the "privilege of honour" next after the ancient capital. Whether any, and what, amount of ecclesiastical jurisdiction the council intended to convey by this attribution of order, would be difficult to determine. The grant of rank, however, is clear, and it is unlikely that a corresponding extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or privilege of government should not have been tacitly in-

Hierarchical position of the church of Constantinople.

cluded.[d] However this may be, the bishops of the second capital always acted as if such jurisdiction and government had at all times belonged to them in right of their see; and they had uniformly exercised them without material opposition. Nor did they allow themselves to be interrupted in their career of acquisition by any very precise inquiry into the extent of the grant. Thus it happened, that since the epoch of the second general council, New Rome had, partly by voluntary submission, partly by a tacit relaxation of subsisting canons, and partly perhaps by direct usurpation, acquired a spiritual ascendency of some kind over the dioceses of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia, comprising twenty-seven provinces, with their metropolitans and bishops.[e] The means and mode of acquisition closely resemble those by which Rome acquired the supremacy within the suburbicarian provinces, and had very lately extended her patriarchal jurisdiction over the churches of Illyricum Orientale and Gaul. Thus, like Rome, Constantinople had first presented herself as moderator and referee of the three neighbouring dioceses. Constant references and applications for that counsel or support which the strong can extend to the weak—appeals, regular or irregular, from litigant parties in the vicinity, or even in distant provinces—disorders requiring the intervention of a strong hand—claims demanding powerful arbitration—had in process of time established both these great patriarchs as the natural arbiters in all cases of doubt and difficulty arising within their respective spheres of influence. And those spheres were, in all political respects, defined by the boundaries of the two empires since their definitive separation. The bishops of Constantinople adopted *this political* view of their position in the Church, because in fact it was the only principle upon which they could ground their claim to place or station among the superior hierarchy. On the other hand, Rome had from the earliest division of

The political and the spiritual theories of ecclesiastical rank.

[d] The ablest modern authorities on ecclesiastical history take it for granted that the Thracian diocese was assigned to Constantinople by Constantine the Great himself. See Book I. c. viii. pp. 194, 195; conf. Book II. c. i. p. 252.

[e] Instances of their modes of acquisition: ap. *Socrat.* II. E. lib. vi. c. 2, and lib. vii c. 28, cum not. Vales. *Sozomen*, lib. viii. c. 6, and lib. vii. c. 37.

the empire declined to take any notice of political boundaries or limitations. When, therefore, the great diocese of Illyricum Orientale was severed from the western and annexed to the Oriental dominion by the emperor Gratian, Rome still claimed the entire diocese as an ancient dependency of the great Latin patriarchate, without regard to the political severance.[f] Pope Damasus had planted his standard in the metropolitan see of Thessalonica, and since then the Illyrian bishops had generally attached themselves to the archbishop-vicar of that see as official moderator in all cases of doubt and difficulty arising within the diocese. But there had always been a party in Illyricum disposed to regard Constantinople as the natural judge of their churches: thus when, in the year 421, a contested election occurred in the church of Corinth, one party in the province referred the dispute to Atticus patriarch of Constantinople, while a majority appealed to Rome. On his part, pope Boniface I. referred the applicants to his vicar, Rufus of Thessalonica. Atticus, supported by the home-government, took upon himself to summon a council of the diocese to decide the contest under his personal presidency; and the jurisdiction was finally determined by a decree of Theodosius II., in which, after reserving to the churches of Illyricum all their ancient laws and customs, he declared the patriarch of Constantinople to be the proper moderator of the diocese in all cases of "doubt and difficulty;" and, as the substantial ground for this decision, he affirmed that in the East the metropolitan patriarch was entitled to the *same prerogative* as that enjoyed by Old Rome in the West.[g]

Edict of Theodosius II. on behalf of Constantinople.

[f] See Book II. c. i. p. 259.

[g] "Omni innovatione cessante, vetustatem et canones ecclesiasticos qui nunc usque tenuerunt per omnes Illyrici provincias servari præcipimus; tum si quid dubietatis emerserit, id oporteat, non absque scientiâ viri reverendissimi sacrosanctæ legis antistitis urbis Constantinopolitani (quæ Romæ veteris prærogativâ lætatur) conventui sacerdotali sanctoque judicio reservari." *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. l. 45, ap. *Gothof.* tom. vi. p. 99. M. Godefroy, in his lucid commentary upon this law, thus defines the character and functions of the eparchal moderator: "In cases of doubt or difficulty," he says, "which might arise as to the meaning or application of diocesan or local canons and customs (having no connection with the general canon law applicable to the government of the Church-catholic), the diocesan synod was first to inquire and determine: after that they were to make

Opposition of pope Boniface I.

Theodosius II. was as little inclined to admit the intervention of a foreign ecclesiastic in the affairs of his churches as he would have been to tolerate that of his colleague or his officers in the political government of the realms he ruled. On his part, pope Boniface encountered the edict by a bold denial of any moderator within the Illyrian diocese but himself; he instructed the bishops of Illyricum to pay no regard to the summons of Atticus; he not only disputed the right of Constantinople, but altogether repudiated her claim to that patriarchal rank and dignity which had been so lately conferred upon her by a general council of the Church. "All persons," he said, "who read the canons with attention, will easily understand which of the churches is truly and of right the *second* after Rome, and which the *third* in rank. The great churches of Alexandria and Antioch are grounded upon the canons, and with these canons they are well acquainted. Yet even those great churches have always leaned upon Rome in all *greater questions;* as may be seen and understood by the appeals of Athanasius (of Alexandria) and Paulinus (of Antioch).[h] Upon these grounds, therefore, we expressly prohibit any synodal assembly from meddling with the dispute about the ordination of Perigenes." Boniface concluded with excommunicating all who should presume to disobey the papal mandate.[i]

The decree of Theodosius II., and the retort of pope

known their decision to the moderator or metropolitan patriarch of the diocese, *e.g.* of Rome or Constantinople, as the case might be. But this right to be consulted gave no original jurisdiction, or right of ruling and defining—'dominandi et definiendi.' All, in fact, that was required seems to have been that, before sentence was published or carried into effect, it should be notified to the moderator for his approval; prior to which approval it was to have no legal force. Yet, after complying with this condition, and receiving the reply of the moderator, the diocesan synod were not thereby 'functi officio,' but might reconsider and adjudicate as they thought fit." Godefroy regards this patriarchal privilege as "maxime honorificum," but not as a right of legal or canonical obligation—not as conferring a power "dominandi et definiendi"—in the manner claimed by the see of Rome.

[h] Book I. c. ix. pp. 200, 201. It is difficult to conceive how Boniface could construe either of these cases, especially the second, into appeals. As to that of Paulinus, see c. i. p. 260 of this Book.

[i] Perigenes was the candidate for the Corinthian bishopric favoured by the pope. See *Pagi* ad *Baron.* Ann. 421; note to § 9, p. 217. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 273.

Boniface I., bring out the *ecclesiastical* and the *political* theory of the primacy in the clearest contrast and opposition. On the one hand we see arrayed the rank and dignity of the imperial city, supported by the power of the state and the recent and solemn decision of an œcumenical council; on the other is displayed before us the indefeasible dignity of Old Rome, the see of Peter, and of the apostolical chairs of Antioch and Alexandria; thus occupying, as it were, the whole domain of spiritual rank and precedency, and leaving no inch of room for any claim or title but that which sprang from their own exalted spiritual pedigree. In truth, the self-complacency of Rome delighted in depicting Constantinople as standing in no nearer spiritual relationship to the other apostolic sees than would be claimed by the inconsiderable church of Byzantium, to which she succeeded; and for aught that Rome had said about her, or done in concert with her, she still remained in the state of a suffragan church of the bishop of Heracleia, the ancient metropolitan of Thrace. In this way of presenting the case of her rival, Rome had kept open to herself the whole debatable ground; while her adversary was fettered and fretted by the notorious novelty of her claims, and the total inability to appeal to that noble spiritual descent which had obtained so strong a hold upon the imagination of Christians, and shed so bright a lustre upon the rival sees.

Weakness of the claim of Constantinople to hierarchical rank.

No particulars have transpired respecting the issue of the contest about the bishopric of Corinth. We observe only that the decree of Theodosius II. remains unrepealed upon the statute-book of the empire; and that it not only clearly sets forth the ground upon which the forthcoming struggle between the two churches was to be fought out, but also furnishes a principle by which the merits of the quarrel may be judged of.[j] Rome continued to treat with dis-

Grounds of the controversy.

[j] See *Godefroy*, in comm. ad Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 102. To the great joy of the Jesuits, Father Holstenius (as we are informed by *Fleury*, H. E. tom. v. p. 575, and Father *Pagi*, Crit. ad Baron. Ann. 421, § 4, p. 215) disinterred from the archives of the Vatican a decree of Theodosius II. revok-

dain all authority—canonical, customary, or political—that interfered with her spiritual supremacy. Constantinople was not less bent upon sustaining her *political* advantages. The lists were well marked out and fenced in, and the opponents not very unequally matched; but the weapons used were of very different temper, and the management of them displayed very unequal ability.

The pope's instructions against Anatolius.

Pope Leo the Great was firmly resolved to maintain with a strong hand the ground which his predecessor Boniface I. had taken up. His letters, as already observed, display an evident suspicion of the intentions of Anatolius; and he carefully provided against any attempt on his part to take advantage of the council for the exaltation of his see above the level which he (Leo) had assigned to it. To that end he gave the most positive instructions to his legates on no pretence to permit the "Regulations of the Fathers"[k] relating to the rank of the three great patriarchates to be infringed; and to be more especially careful in all respects to maintain the dignity and prerogative of the holy see; and to that end he instructed them especially, that "in case it should happen that any bishop, *presuming upon the greatness of his city, should arrogate to himself a higher rank than was due to him*, they were to resist such pretensions with all their might."[l]

The council of Chalcedon, when assembled, was found to consist of no fewer than 630 bishops of all ranks; and the whole number were accommodated in the great

ing that of the year 421. This document is printed in the "Collectio Romana" of Holstenius. We remark, however, that the statute-book of the empire, and not the archives of the Vatican, is the proper place and custody in which such a document ought to have been found, if we are to accept it as evidence that the emperor felt and repaired his error. But no such decree is extant in any code of Roman law. Baronius did not know of it; and though Father Pagi—in general a tolerably candid critic—is inclined to insist upon its genuineness, yet the utter ignorance of the popes of all succeeding ages respecting a document that could not but have been very useful to them if in existence, seems to class it with the pious fictions of such frequent occurrence in the history of the Roman church.

[k] Probably he alludes to the vi^th canon of the council of Nicæa; perhaps in its spurious conjunction with those of Sardica. Conf. Book I. c. viii. pp. 202 et sqq., and Book II. c. i. pp. 256 et sqq.

[l] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 638; *Baron.* Ann. 451, §§ 138, 159. The instructions are not inserted in the works of Leo the Great. They were probably not made public till the occasion called for their production.

church of St. Euphemia, on the Bosphorus. The order of the sitting, which might have involved some points of serious discussion, was settled without difficulty. The imperial commissioners, eighteen in number, and representing the majesty of the empire, took the *first* place of honour. The papal legates assumed the *spiritual* presidency, and occupied the *second* place. Following the rule of 381, *the patriarch of Constantinople was placed next after the legates*, and without contradiction on their part.[m] The eparchal and metropolitan bishops followed in canonical order, as thus: Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Cæsarea, Thessalonica, &c. Dioscorus assumed rank and seat as third patriarch. The ordinance of the emperor purported, that in matters purely ecclesiastical the papal legates should preside as moderators; but that in cases involving judicial inquiries, as between parties under accusation and their accusers, the commissioners should be regarded as the judges; their judgments to be framed, not upon the civil law, but upon the canons and usages of the Church. All matters of proceeding were to be determined by them; they were to be named first in all the minutes and records of the council; upon them it devolved to propound the subjects of discussion, and to draw up the resolutions of the council; and finally, they were empowered to affix the stamp of the imperial approval to the resulting measures.[n]

Council of Chalcedon—its constituency and order of proceeding.

At the first session of the council the legate Paschasinus, in the name of Leo pope of Rome, formally denounced Dioscorus as a heretic and a felon, and demanded that he should be immediately sequestered from seat and vote; if, he added, this demand should be refused, he and his colleagues were instructed to secede from the council. The fathers de-

Proceeding against Dioscorus.

[m] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 54. There can, however, be no doubt that if the legates had had before their eyes the rule of Boniface I., the patriarch of Alexandria ought to have had the senior seat, he of Antioch the next, and the patriarch of Constantinople must have put up with a place among the suffragans. See p. 390 of this chapter.

[n] *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 646, art. iv. The statements of Tillemont have been verified by the voluminous records of this council in *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 70 to 768, double columns. The order of the session is set out in pp. 54, 66, 67.

murred to so summary a proceeding; and after some altercation it was agreed that some better foundation ought to be laid for putting Dioscorus upon his defence as a criminal. To that end, therefore, it was ordered that the minutes of the late council of Ephesus, together with other inculpatory documents, should be read. In these there appeared sufficient matter of charge to place him in the position of a defendant, and he was ordered to quit his place in the episcopal bench, and to take his seat elsewhere, as an offender upon his trial. But at the same time his accusers, Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and others, were removed from the bench of judges, and permitted to be heard only as conductors of the impeachment. To Dioscorus himself the fullest liberty of speech was granted.° But the tide of feeling, as well as the facts of the case, were too strong to admit of any availing defence. The friends of Flavian in a body raised their indignant voices against the murderer of their patriarch; the Orientals, the Illyrians, and all who had taken any part in the ruffian-like doings at Ephesus, hastened to testify their repentance, and clamoured for the punishment of their seducer and oppressor. Deserted by his former friends—even by Juvenal of Jerusalem and Thalassius of Cæsarea—as well as by some among his devoted phalanx of Egyptians, he betrayed neither fear nor confusion; he justified his conduct at Ephesus under the precept of the emperor Theodosius II. and the commands of the court; he cast the blame of what might have been objectionable in the demeanour of that assembly upon the very men who now presumed to sit as his judges; and he boldly flung back the charge of heresy upon his accusers. During the progress of the inquiry, the legates, ignorant of the Greek language, took no share in the discussion. The fathers had reduced the articles of impeachment to three points, viz. the illegal violence put upon the council by

° Some of the earlier scenes of the council of Chalcedon were not much more decorous than those of Ephesus. Cries of "Down with him!" and "Turn him out!" were vociferated as in an English playhouse, or public meeting at Exeter Hall or the Freemasons' Tavern. See *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 74.

Dioscorus, his personal ill-treatment of Flavian, and his heretical doctrine as to the union of two natures in the Christ. To these charges he had confined his defence; yet at the close of the debate Paschasinus, without having understood a word of the proceedings, harangued the assembly in Latin, repeating all the out-of-door matters of charge against Dioscorus, and among them several which had not been made the subjects of inquiry in council. He accused him of having received Eutyches into his communion, though no proof of the fact had been produced, and though Eutyches himself had not as yet been tried or condemned; he impeached Dioscorus of the high crime and misdemeanour of having excommunicated pope Leo, though that subject had not been touched upon either in the impeachment or the defence; he charged him with receiving into his communion persons deposed by preceding councils, an item of accusation of which there is no trace upon the records of the synod; and he concluded with a demand, thrice repeated, of judgment upon the head of the convicted heretic and malefactor.[p]

Equivocal conduct of the legates.

This demand was forthwith acceded to; and the legate, after enumerating the articles of impeachment, proceeded to pronounce the sentence of the council in the following terms: "Therefore *Leo, the most holy archbishop of Rome, doth by our mouths, and on behalf of the present synod, and in the name of the thrice-blessed apostle Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the whole Church and of the orthodox faith*, strip him (Dioscorus) of the episcopal dignity, and declare him incapable of all sacerdotal rank and office. Let this sentence be recorded by the council, in conformity

Sentence upon Dioscorus.

[p] The speech of Paschasinus, indeed, pretty clearly proves that he had understood little, and cared less, for what passed among the Greeks. The good father *Tillemont* (Mém. &c. tom. xv. pp. 662 et sqq.) is a little perplexed by these irregularities. In fact, the whole proceeding at Chalcedon was defective in one great point. The first step should have been to quash the "ruffian synod" of Ephesus, and to cancel all its acts. Such a proceeding would have revived the decisions of the orthodox councils of Constantinople which condemned Eutyches, and he might then have been properly treated as a heretic. It seems as if the condemnation of Dioscorus had not been very palatable to the fathers of Chalcedon, and that some concessions on his part might have saved him.

with the canons."[q] The decree of deposition was accordingly signed by all the bishops present, excepting thirteen or fourteen of the Egyptian faction. The legates, following up their advantage, pressed upon the council the necessity of a pure and simple adoption of the authoritative treatise upon the incarnation addressed to the martyr-patriarch Flavian, and published by the Roman pontiff in his character of "pope of the universal Church" and "representative of the apostle Peter."[r] The council, however, adopted an estimate of this celebrated document quite irrespective of the Petrine prerogative. They presumed to test its merits by its accordance with the faith promulgated by the fathers of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus (I.), and with the writings of the more distinguished doctors of the Greek church; and they entered it upon their records exclusively on the ground of that agreement.[s]

The records of the council.

In the course of the fifth session the council drew up a plenary confession of faith, and appended to it certain authentic and orthodox expositions, requisite, as it was declared, to the right understanding of the Catholic creed, the refutation of heresy, and the dissipation of doubt from the minds of the faithful. The authority of the confession itself was expressly and exclusively grounded upon the "councils and the fathers," without notice of any other sanction. The appended documents were declared to be simply explanatory, and in their nature and effect of a secondary and derivative character, possessing no weight but that which they received from "councils and fathers." The first of these documents inserted upon the records were the two synodal epistles of Cyril of Alexandria[t] against Nestorius; in the next place followed the treatise of pope Leo against the Eutychian heresy; and the Catholic merits and validity of these expositions were placed upon the same level,

[q] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 346; and see *Baron.* Ann. 451, §§ 86, 87, 88.

[r] See the address of Paschasinus, *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 386.

[s] *Hard.* Concil. ubi sup. Cont. *Fleury*, tom. vi. p. 411. The same view of its merits is taken by Marcian in his "Allocution" to the council. *Hard.* ubi sup. p. 466.

[t] The hero of the first council of Ephesus. See chap. iii. p. 329 of this Book.

without special regard to the person or office of the authors. In affixing the signatures to the whole record, however, the legates took care that nothing should be wanting in point of form to vindicate the presidency, and sustain the paramount dignity of the chair of Peter. All the papal legates placed their signatures before those of all others, designating themselves as "vicars of the most blessed and apostolic Leo of Rome, pope of the universal Church." Paschasinus, as acting president, described himself in addition as "president of the synod."[u] The acts and minutes of the council were allowed to run in the name of "Leo, archbishop of Old Rome, and of the council," jointly; a form which cannot be held to import any higher authority than was implied in the office of spiritual president or moderator conferred by the general consent.[v]

The signatures.

At the sixth session of the council the emperor Marcian presided in person, and ratified the acts of the council hitherto concluded, particularly the confession of faith, by the promulgation of which the properly spiritual duties of the synod were brought to a close. After this the bishops earnestly requested to be dismissed to their home-duties. But many questions relating to pending claims and complaints, as well as to matters of discipline of importance to the eastern churches, remained to be settled. Marcian regarded these affairs as possessing a political interest of their own, and he declined to dissolve the synod until they should be despatched out of hand. There was, he told them, other work to do; but its nature did not fully transpire until the eleventh session. At that meeting

Settlement of disputed claims urged by the emperor.

[u] *Hard.* Concil. ubi sup. pp. 466, 467. In the Greek subscriptions there is a difference between that of Paschasinus and that of his colleague Lucentius. The former, as well as the legate Bonifacius, described himself as "vicar of the most blessed and apostolical man," της οικουμενης εκκλησιας επισκοπου πολεως Ρωμης Λεοντος. Lucentius writes himself "vicar, &c." του ανδρος πασης εκκλησιας επισκοπου πολεως Ρωμης Λεοντος, κ. τ. λ. The term "pope" (papa) is not used in the Greek text of the subscriptions.

[v] A century and a half afterwards pope Gregory the Great affirmed that the council of Chalcedon had recognised the bishop of Rome as œcumenical pope and patriarch. *Baron.* ad Ann. 451, quoting from the epistles of that pontiff. The cardinal could have had no ground for such an assertion but the unresisted assumption of the title by his legates on his behalf.

the bishops of the Asian diocese presented a petition to be released from the pontifical control of Constantinople, and to be restored to their ancient privilege, as an eparchal church, of electing and ordaining their own bishops. In the thirteenth session a contest appears to have arisen between the metropolitan bishops of Nicomedia and Nicæa respecting the right of ordaining a bishop to the see of Basilinopolis; and on that occasion Aëtius, archdeacon of Constantinople, entered a protest against both claims on behalf of the church of the imperial city, as the proper patron.[w] Such disputes were at all times the subject of serious solicitude to the state; and Marcian was anxious to obtain a synodal settlement that might set them at rest, at least for the present. The spirit of Byzantine government, however, inclined to the concentration of subordinate offices in single hands, with a view to bring them as much as possible within the reach of the central power. The elevation of the metropolitan church was desirable as an instrument of government; and thus the interests, as much as the vanity of the court, prompted the accumulation of honours and powers in the hands of the great metropolitan patriarch.

Motion and decree in favour of Constantinople.

At the suggestion of Anatolius, therefore, and with the approbation of the emperor, Aëtius, archdeacon of Constantinople, proposed to the council a full and final adjustment of the rights of that church. This motion was made at the fifteenth session. The legates of the pope took the alarm —the crisis had arrived to which their vigilance had been most especially directed by their sagacious master. They declared that they could take no part in any such discussion, having no instructions from the pope upon the subject; and to avoid being drawn in as parties,—but, probably, more in the hope of throwing a doubt as to the competency of the synod to deal with the matter in the absence of the spiritual presidents,—they simultaneously arose and quitted the assembly. But the vacancy of the chair does not seem to have disturbed the synod; not a single bishop arose to follow the legates; no opposition

[w] *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. pp. 434 et sqq.

was offered to the proposal of the archdeacon; and it was unanimously resolved, "on behalf of the prerogative of the most holy see of Constantinople,"[x] that—"pursuant to the decrees of the fathers, and of the canon on that behalf made by the œcumenical council of Constantinople under the emperor Theodosius (A.D. 381), touching the prerogative of the most holy see of New Rome—the same be affirmed by this present synod: that, moreover, inasmuch as the fathers did rightfully assign to the throne of Old Rome, *as the ruling and imperial city*, certain appropriate prerogatives, so also did the same one hundred and fifty holy prelates, *moved by the like consideration*, grant an *equal privilege* to the most holy see of New Rome; rightly judging that the city that was honoured by the residence of an emperor and a senate should, as in secular, so also in ecclesiastical respects, enjoy equal privileges with Rome the older capital and queen of cities, and be raised to the like sublimity and dignity, in rank taking place next after her alone." It was further resolved, that "the bishop of Constantinople is by custom the moderator of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace; and that all metropolitans within those regions, as well as all bishops resident among the barbarians, should be ordained by the bishop of New Rome: that he shall ordain them with the concurrence of the bishops of each province; and that the metropolitans so elected by the provincial prelates shall be consecrated by the bishop of Constantinople upon a proper presentation and notification of a due canonical election."[y]

A more unequivocal adjudication both of rank and jurisdiction could hardly have been propounded; nor was it possible to assert in clearer language a *political basis of ecclesiastical prerogative*, or to give a more direct contradiction to the spirit of the papal instructions. The *ecclesiastical* and the *political* theory of the primacy were thus fairly brought into conflict: if the latter were sustained, the decretals of

Opposition of the legates in council.

[x] χάριν τῶν πρεσβείων, κ.τ.λ.

[y] *Dupin*, de Ant. Eccl. Discip. p. 55. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. p. 457 (summary). See the original resolution ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 614-626.

Boniface I. and Leo the Great must fall to the ground; the decree of Valentinian III. became a dead letter; a permanent bulwark was erected against the extension of the papal power; and—worse than all—the very principle upon which that power was founded was practically repudiated by the act of an œcumenical council of the Church.[z] The legates did their best to arrest the proceeding; in the sixteenth session they came down to the council, and loudly complained that, contrary to all canonical rule and order, certain things had been decreed after their departure, in their absence, and without their knowledge and concurrence as presidents. Aëtius replied, that what had been done was in strict accordance with custom, and that it had been transacted under the presidency and with the assent of the imperial commissioners who presided. Upon the demand of the legates, the latter caused the minutes of the last session to be read; and it then appeared that the objectionable canon had been signed by all the bishops present, among which subscriptions were found those of the bishops of the dioceses whose rights were most materially affected by the decree. The legates insinuated that these subscriptions had been obtained by duress or undue influence; but the subscribers themselves affirmed their free concurrence, and again approved the act by acclamation in the presence of the legates. The latter now shifted their ground: they complained that the fathers, slipping aside from the Nicene decrees, had followed the contradictory rule of the synod of Constantinople (A.D. 381). The commissioners impartially directed that both sides should exhibit their exemplifications of the Nicene decrees; whereupon Paschasinus read the sixth canon of that council from the Roman codex; and there then appeared, by way of preface or introduction to the canon, the words—"The Roman church hath always possessed the primacy."[a] But in the Greek

Spurious prefix to the vith canon of Nicæa.

[z] Conf. p. 391 of this chapter.

[a] "Ista ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum." The learned Quesnel, the editor of the earliest "Codex canonum" of the Roman church—a compilation of the sixth century—intimates that this addition to the vith canon of Nicæa (non-existent in the Greek text) probably found its way from the margin into the body of the canon by the error

text, as exhibited by Aëtius, no such prefatory words were to be found; no material difficulty, therefore, appeared to the council to arise out of the objection of the legates. The latter,—deserted by the prelates of the three dioceses whose rights they affected to defend, neglected by the Illyrian clients of Rome, abandoned by the imperial commissioners, and foiled in their attempt to impeach the obnoxious canon of the council of Constantinople (381), —now flung themselves back upon their *private* instructions from the pope. "The most holy the pope of Rome," they declared, "had, among other matters, strictly commanded them on no pretence to permit any order or constitution of the fathers to be violated or infringed upon; he had enjoined that they should by all means in their power save harmless in their own persons the dignity of him whom they were sent to represent; and that if there should be any one who, trusting to the splendour of his city, should attempt *on that account* to arrogate to himself advantages he could otherwise lay no claim to, they (the legates) were to repel them with all necessary firmness."[b]

Confirmation of the decree of equal privilege on behalf of Constantinople.

This instruction, as already observed, was intended to meet the apprehended political pretensions of the church of Constantinople. But an opportunity had already offered itself to the legates of acquitting themselves of their task in a legal form and in a more candid spirit. If they had taken their objection at the moment when the precedency of rank in the council was under discussion, they must at once have called upon Anatolius to renounce all rank but that of bishop of Byzantium and suffragan of the metropolitan church of Heracleia; and although the objection might have ended in the retirement of the legates, and even a final schism between the eastern and western churches, yet, irrespectively of consequences, it was too late to take the objection after the bishop of Constantinople was once admitted to take his seat in council as patriarch, in pursuance of the vote of a preceding general council, and thereby been definitively in-

of the transcribers. See also *Van Espen.* tom. iii. dissert. iii. § 2, p. 14.

[b] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 638.

vested with all the authority attached to that character. The seat assigned to Anatolius must have appeared to the Greeks as decisive of the question; and the silence of the legates as proof of acquiescence in the arrangement. But the legates knew that the production of the private instructions at the prior period would have alienated the court, and might have been attended with their own exclusion from the meeting, and the disappointment of all pope Leo's plans. A naked assignment of place could not, they thought, be fraught with the same danger to the Roman prerogative as a deliberate discussion of this delicate point; and to avoid such a proceeding and prevent any formal decision of the dreaded question, they pushed on the actual business before the synod with all possible speed. Thus they hoped to elude a synodal admission or recognition of *equality* with Rome in *any* of the respects of rank, privilege, or jurisdiction, or upon *any* supposable consideration of ecclesiastical position and dignity. But in this expectation they found themselves disappointed. The question was put—this time by the imperial commissioners themselves—and a decisive answer returned: Constantinople was found to stand upon the minutes of the council as Rome's equal in every privilege but that of social rank in the hierarchy: the alleged preamble to the vi[th] canon of Nicæa—whether held to be genuine or spurious—was not regarded as of any avail to control the plain meaning of a legislative act of equal authority; and the council, without regard to the protest of the legates, proceeded to confirm the act of the preceding session in a form of words equally positive and precise with that used on the former occasion: "From what hath already been agreed upon and resolved (says the minute of confirmation) it appeareth, *first*, that in accordance with the canons, the primacy and the order of precedency is reserved to the most holy the archbishop of Old Rome: and that, in the second place, the most holy the archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, ought to enjoy equal privilege of honour, and have authority to ordain the metropolitans of the Asian, Pontican, and Thracian dioceses,—and *this* in such wise, that after

election by the clergy (bishops) of each province, it be referred to the archbishop of the imperial city to say whether he will ordain the candidate so elected in person and at home, or by special precept appoint him to exercise the metropolitan episcopate of the province: and *lastly*, that in respect of ordination to bishoprics, the metropolitan and the prelates of the province should be under no obligation to make application to, or take their license from the archbishop of Constantinople.[c]

This resolution now stands as the xxviii[th] canon of the council of Chalcedon; and it seems to have been regarded as a satisfactory compromise of the subjects of dispute between Constantinople and the three dioceses. It passed, on the motion of the commissioners, without contradiction or debate; and no course remained to the legates but to enter an energetic protest, and resign the presidency. "We cannot," they said, "permit the holy see to be disparaged in our persons and presence; we therefore demand a peremptory revocation of all that has been now resolved, against all rule and canon; but if this be not done, we require that this our solemn protest be entered upon the records of the council, in order that we may thereby be furnished with full proof of the truth of the report we shall have to make to that apostolic man, the *pope of the universal Church;* and he be enabled to pass such judgment upon this *contempt of his chair*, and *violation of the canons*, as to him may seem meet."[d]

Protest of the papal legates.

The sixteenth session brought the labours of the council to an end. The fathers made their reports of the proceedings to the emperor and to the pope. Both reports dealt principally with the measures they had adopted for the suppression of the Eutychian heresy. On this topic they assured the pope, that upon the matter of faith they had relied implicitly on his letter to Flavian as a faithful oracle proceeding from the chair of Peter, and through that chair transmitted to them from

Report of the council to pope Leo.

[c] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 643. *Baron.* Ann. 451, §§ 137 et sqq. Conf. *Dupin*, ubi sup. p. 56; and *Fleury*, tom. vi. p. 460. Op. *S. Leon.* tom. ii. p. 288.

[d] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 643, 644.

the great lawgiver Christ himself.[e] In allusion to their regulations respecting the privileges of the church of Constantinople, they had, they said, at the earnest desire of the emperor, and from regard to the public interests, thought it requisite to come to a special understanding respecting the privileges of the see of the imperial city, fully believing that a settlement of that nature, notwithstanding the opposition of the legates, could not fail to meet with his ultimate concurrence. They therefore requested him, in consideration of their unswerving filial deference for him as their president, and of the wishes of the pious princes who had called them together, to "honour their judgment on that behalf by his confirmatory decree."[f] The emperor Marcian and his consort Pulcheria added their personal solicitations to the same effect. Anatolius, in a flattering epistle, assured the pope, that the fathers of the council were fully sensible that all the credit of the successes gained over the disturbers of the religious peace of the world were due to his *inspired* suggestions. Knowing, he said, how anxiously solicitous the pope had always expressed himself for the welfare of the church of Constantinople, the fathers had thought that an ordinance for the final settlement of her honours and position[g] in the Church must meet with his approbation; to that end they had re-affirmed her rank agreeably with the canon of the general council of 381, and had assigned to the patriarch of that city the right of ordaining to all the metropolitan chairs of the three dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, without prejudice, however, to the provincial privileges of the prelacy to elect and

Special report of Anatolius.

[e] Such language would be unaccountable if the Greeks had ever been in the habit of weighing the value of words when they had an object to gain in disregarding it. See the Report in Op. *S. Leon.* tom. ii. p. 282.

[f] *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. p. 290, 294.

[g] The terms πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς appear on this and other occasions to have denoted something more in the mind of the Greeks than mere seniority of rank. The decree of Chalcedon, in fact, went far beyond that of Constantinople (A.D. 381) by assigning a specific jurisdiction as well as rank to the see of Constantinople. The pope might perhaps not have objected to the assignment of merely *honorary* rank; but when ecclesiastical jurisdiction was added, Constantinople became a constituent power of the Church, and by the terms of the decree the *equal of Rome*, which neither admitted, nor could admit, an equal.

consecrate to all vacant bishoprics. He complained that notwithstanding the manifest propriety and necessity of the measure, the legates Paschasinus, Lucentius and Boniface had—doubtless in ignorance of the pope's devout affection for the holy church of Constantinople—thrown the sacred synod into great confusion and alarm by their contemptuous depreciation of that see, and personal insults to himself. He desired it, however, to be understood that the decree in question was passed at the express desire, and in the personal presence, of the emperor and his consort; and with the single view to the permanence of that religious peace which had just been established by their efforts. He desired again to assure the pope of his personal devotion; and, for further proof of the sincerity of these sentiments, he appealed to the scrupulous respect, the profound deference, and the open-handed liberality[h] with which he and all the fathers had conducted themselves towards the legates. Upon all these considerations he trusted the pope would reverse the protest of his legates, and transmit to him as speedily as possible his letters of confirmation.[i]

Indignation of pope Leo the Great.

The sagacious pontiff could hardly be deceived by the attempt of Anatolius to veil his designs under pretence of devotion to the holy see. He saw nothing in the whole transaction but an exhibition of naked culpable usurpation. It was not to be endured that the mushroom church of Byzantium, by spiritual position the humble suffragan of the provincial metropolitan of Heracleia, should leap at a bound into equal privilege, jurisdiction and rank with churches of that noble spiritual descent he claimed for the churches of apostolical foundation,—for Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Ephesus, and others. Every faculty and every feeling of Leo the Great was strung to the pitch of a monarch and a conqueror. Victory had hitherto waited upon his banners in every encounter, whether with the enemies of his faith, or the foes of his prerogative. He had enthroned himself as the sovereign of the Church,[j] and seized

[h] *δωροφορία.* [i] *Leon. Mag.* ep. Op. tom. ii. pp. 301-307.
[j] Book II. c. iv. pp. 349, 350.

the reins of government with conscientious audacity and undoubting self-reliance: "God forbid," he said to the emperor Marcian, "that I, *to whom is committed the care and the government of the whole household of God*, should connive at the violation of the laws of the Church, or surrender the sacred trust to the perverse will of any living being."[k]

Pope Leo's grounds for repudiating the xxviii^th^ canon of Chalcedon.

Throughout the controversy Leo the Great took his stand upon the vi^th^ canon of Nicæa, with the Roman preamble annexed. He affirmed the absolute incompetency of any human authority to vary its terms or limit its application. He maintained, moreover, that the Nicene fathers had by that ordinance, not only irrevocably fixed the relative position of the three apostolical chairs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, securing in the same breath *the perpetual primacy to Rome*, but also that they had as irrevocably confined the number of the churches entitled to patriarchal rank and jurisdiction to the three named in the canon; consequently no consent or concurrence of bishops or churches could be pleaded against an arrangement proceeding from the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit,[l] whence those of Nicæa were on all hands admitted to originate. As to the canon of Constantinople (A.D. 381), he contended that it was not only inapplicable, but that it had been wholly inoperative from the outset: not only had it never been ratified by the holy see, but it had not even been brought to the knowledge of the Roman pontiff of that day (Damasus):[m] neither could it ever have had any claim to canonical validity; for, "as there is one reason for earthly things, and another for divine things," that canon rested upon the manifestly false ground of human expediency and mere political greatness: but any measure which implies a displacement of the senior chairs, or a disparagement of their divinely-established spiritual prerogative, was a positive sacrilege; nor was it to be presumed that any assem-

[k] *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. lxxix. p. 34.

[l] *Ibid.* tom. ii. ep. lxxxi. ad Anatol. p. 319.

[m] But conf. Book II. c. i. p. 257.

bly of Christian bishops could bring themselves to lend their voices to the reversal of a divine decree. "And what," he asked, "could a trifling prescription of some sixty years[n] avail against the apostolical rights of the senior sees founded upon the ordinance of God himself?"

Leo's invective against Anatolius.

But the case assumed a still darker aspect when considered in connection with the conduct of the beneficial claimant Anatolius. He was indebted, said Leo, for his throne to the heretics and felons who participated in the enormities committed at Ephesus: his consecration, therefore, was in itself wholly void, and must have remained a dead letter but for the pardoning grace of the holy see, which had spared him from deference to his imperial patron, from merciful consideration towards himself, and from regard to the peace of the beloved church over which he presided. But what, he asked, had been the return made for so much kindness and forbearance?—nought but unbounded pride—felonious ambition—sacrilegious violation of the holiest of the laws of the Church—an evil concupiscence of apostolical rank in the hierarchy, to which neither personally nor through his church he could lay the remotest claim: how immeasurable, then, the audacity that could prompt a bishop thus destitute of every ecclesiastical qualification to usurp the government of so many metropolitan churches, each of them more illustrious in rank than his own! The protest of the legates was a necessary consequence of such conduct; and not only did he approve of that protest, but averred that any kind of hesitation or any omission on their part in the performance of that sacred duty would have been visited upon them by him as a criminal neglect; more especially as there was good reason to believe that the support afforded by the council to his unprincipled scheme had not been altogether spontaneous, but might, at least in part, be attributed to intimidation or corruption.[o]

[n] The period between the building of Constantinople and the second general council held there in 381.

[o] *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom ii. ep. lxxxvi. p. 333. Upon the face of the proceedings at Chalcedon there does not appear to be the smallest ground for the surmise of the pope. It seems, indeed, pretty clear that the bishops of the three dioceses were really satisfied with

Pope Leo formally quashes the xxviii^th canon of Chalcedon.

The correspondence of pope Leo the Great upon this controversy lifts the veil that might otherwise for ages to come have concealed from our view the far-reaching policy of the Roman pontificate. Of that policy we have already obtained some glimpses; but this pope boldly raised the curtain, and displayed the Petrine powers in a blaze of light which in weaker hands might have dazzled, but could not have subdued the spirit of man. He has told us that a council called by the holy see for a special cause has no self-action—that it is not at liberty to range an inch beyond the particular purpose for which it was called—that it can be put in motion only by the hand that created it, and must accept the impulse and follow the direction he hath impressed upon it.[p] The council of Chalcedon, he alleged, had been convoked by him exclusively for the extinction of heresy, and was therefore incompetent to enter upon any other subject; therefore every act foreign to such subject was necessarily void: thus, the adjudication of rank to Constantinople was waste paper; and he, the pope, "by the authority of St. Peter, and by the irrevocable sentence of his chair," did thereby wholly quash the said pretended canon, and declare it altogether void and inoperative.[q]

Character of pope Leo's opposition to the xxviii^th canon, &c.

The principle adopted by pope Leo in dealing with the xxviii^th canon of the council of Chalcedon is obviously inconsistent with any kind of freedom of church-legislation.[r] His predilection for the council of Nicæa may have been perfectly sincere while under the persuasion that the preamble, as cited by his legates, was a genuine prefix to the decree. But his peremptory rejection of the statutes of two general councils, both of equal competency, and entitled to the same obedience with that of Nicæa, cannot be justified upon

the restitution of the right to elect their metropolitans subject to the sanction or veto of the patriarch of Constantinople and the unrestricted choice of the provincial bishops.

[p] Op. *Leon. Mag.* tom. ii. ep. lxxxi. ad Anatol. p. 319. *Ibid.* ep. xciv. p. 360.

[q] *Ibid.* tom. ii. ep. lxxx. ad Pulch. p. 315.

[r] In order to avoid mistakes and circumlocution, I may here state that the word *church-legislation* is used hereafter to distinguish the legislative action of the church as a body from *decretalism*, or papal legislation.

any ground but the "superabounding" authority of the chair of Peter. There is no better reason why the council of Nicæa should enjoy the character of a divine dispensation than for attributing that character to those of Constantinople and Chalcedon. The allegation of the Nicene decree in bar of any fresh distribution of ecclesiastical powers was wholly untenable; and when it is considered that the Nicene fathers used no expression that could bind succeeding councils to abstain from such redistribution, and that they expressly placed the jurisdiction of the three patriarchal churches then in existence, not upon the ground of divine dispensation, but upon the absolutely independent reasons of present expediency and long-subsisting practice,[s]—we cannot help suspecting the pope of a degree of disingenuousness foreign to his general character, in thus for the nonce evading the principle he had on other occasions so firmly maintained, and resting his case upon a quibble which his own better sense must have repudiated. It was, moreover, untrue that the canon of the council of Constantinople had not been brought to the knowledge of the Roman church;[t] and though the latter had thought fit to treat that ordinance with supercilious neglect, pope Leo could make no pretence of that circumstance for denying its validity, after allowing the proper time and means of remonstrance or resistance to escape him. The truth, however, is that, even with the spurious prefix, the viith canon of Nicæa did not assist the pope's case. For, *first*, that canon points out a principle for the adjustment of disputes like that which had arisen between Rome and Constantinople, destitute of any bearing upon that which Leo I. thought fit to extract from it: in the *next place*, the *kind* of primacy assigned by that canon to the see of Rome gave her no jurisdiction different from that which custom assigned to the two other patriarchal sees: and, *lastly*, it

[s] See Book I. chap. viii. p. 191.

[t] The canon on behalf of Constantinople was, with the other acts of the council, faithfully reported to pope Damasus. See Book II. c. i. p. 257. But if Leo only meant that it had never attracted the attention of Rome, he was right enough. Neither is it wholly impossible that he may have found no record of the kind in the archives of his church, and have thence inferred that no such communication was ever made.

made no pretence to that irrevocable sanctity which belongs to divine ordinances, nor contained a single word to bind the hands of future general councils. If pope Leo had more maturely examined his own opinions, he would have found that the sanctity of the Nicene decrees rested upon nothing but the papal adoption; and it must have then occurred to him that no effective legislation is practicable where the subject of it has a right to choose which of its enactments it will be bound by and which it will reject. It must therefore be inferred that *pope Leo the Great repudiated all legislative control as against the prerogative of St. Peter's chair.*

Pope Leo's scheme of church-legislation.

Pope Leo, it should be observed, made no distinction between doctrinal and simply organic or disciplinarian legislation. He treated the primacy of St. Peter's chair quite as much in the light of a divine revelation as the doctrine of the incarnation, for which he so zealously contended; and, in that view, just as little amenable to any human legislature; thus under all circumstances reserving the right of authoritative statement or definition both of doctrine and outward organisation to the power "intrusted with the care of the universal church," that is, to the chair of Peter. Thus every external variation in ecclesiastical custom was made to fall within the papal jurisdiction; and every addition, improvement, or reform implying change must ultimately emanate from the Petrine power. When, therefore, pope Leo insisted upon the vi[th] canon of Nicæa, with a view to impeach the authority of Constantinople and Chalcedon, we feel assured that he aimed a blow at the right of the Church *as a body* to adapt the outward framework of the ecclesiastical system to the varying state of worldly affairs—that he intended to *oust the Church-catholic of all but a permissive and ministerial action, and to conclude all substantive legislation under the exceptional prerogative of the chair of Peter.*[u]

Pope Leo, therefore, resolutely repelled all solicita-

[u] It is not easy to believe that the writer of the Letter on the Incarnation should not have perceived that he did not want the aid of the vi[th] canon of Nicæa to sustain his objection against the xxviii[th] of Chalcedon. His argument at almost every step makes no account of conciliar legislation where it

tions to acknowledge the validity of the xxviii[th] canon of the fathers of Chalcedon.[v] The pontifical sanction to the deposition and punishment of Dioscorus was given in a form as strong as the words could be framed to denote that the sentence was the act of the pontiff, implicitly assented to by the council.[w] The papal ratification of the decrees concerning the faith was, as we have seen,[x] given in almost equivalent terms; and the decrees were afterwards formally adopted by the pope,[y] but upon the special ground of their agreement with the foregone decision of the holy see upon the subjects to which they related. The council was obviously treated throughout by the pontiff as a simply *ministerial* body, and its acts as purely *declaratory*, without distinguishing those of its ordinances which touched upon doctrine from those relating to government, organisation, and discipline: nothing could be discussed but what had been previously cut out for them by the pope, and nothing could pass but that which should ultimately meet with his approval. The synod in this view was in fact a mere court for registering and publishing the papal mandates.[z]

The council a ministerial body.

Independently of political considerations, it is probable that the energetic will and eloquence of Leo had

interferes with the "superabounding" power of the cathedra Petri; and it is difficult to suppose that he did not perceive that he might have cast behind him the Nicene ordinances with the same facility with which he disposed of the canons of Constantinople and Chalcedon. The "ever-living" and "superabounding" authority of his chair could neither require nor tolerate any conciliar corroboration. The Nicene fathers were therefore as incompetent to define as they could have been to establish that prerogative. The pope, however, left it in obscurity whether he appealed to the canon in question as an enacting or only a declaratory statute. Most probably he wished it to be taken in the latter sense, because that mode of viewing it would leave the relation of the holy see to general councils, at least, an open question; and because it did not directly interfere with the right of that see to define and declare its own prerogative.

[v] *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. lxxxii. ad Julian. p. 324.

[w] "Therefore Leo the holy and most blessed pope, the head of the universal Church, endowed with the power and dignity of the apostle Peter, who is called to be the foundation of the Church, the rock of the faith, the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, doth through us his vicars—this holy synod thereunto consenting—deprive him (Dioscorus) of all episcopal right and dignity, and pronounce him degraded from every sacerdotal office." *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. lxxxiii. ad Episc. Gall. p. 326.

[x] See p. 397 of this chapter.

[y] *Baron.* Ann. 452, §§ 15, 17.

[z] Upon this point see particularly *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. xciv. ad Maxim. Antioch. p. 360.

Tergiversations of the patriarch Anatolius.

made a powerful impression upon the emperor Marcian and his pious consort Pulcheria. They had sincerely adopted the doctrinal principles of the pope as set forth in his celebrated letter to Flavian. On the other hand, it soon became evident that the patriarch Anatolius had never sincerely dropped his connection with the party to which he owed his elevation. Neither the sovereign nor any party anxious for the peace of the Church could entertain any great sympathy for the creature of a faction so notorious for their disregard of the public peace and the tranquillity of the Church. Anatolius soon gave token of that spirit of intrigue and trickery which animated the councils of the Eutychian party. Soon after the dissolution of the council he had removed his archdeacon Aëtius,—a person trusted by the friends of the pope, notwithstanding his share in the enactment of the obnoxious ordinance in favour of the great metropolitan church of the East,—to make room for his friend Andrew, a notorious monophysite. As soon as this suspicious appointment was reported to pope Leo by his resident legate, Julian bishop of Cos, he hastened to denounce it to the emperor and empress as manifest proof of the insincerity of Anatolius. "It should—he told them—have been his glory rather to make enemies than friends of the enemies of the faith; for to be hated by them was to be faithful to his profession; to be at peace with them was to be at war with the truth."[a] It was, he thought, necessary to keep a watchful eye upon the church of Constantinople; and he instructed Julian to avail himself of every opportunity to check the ambitious and heretical plottings of Anatolius; to awaken on every favourable juncture the suspicions of the court; to correspond diligently with Rome, and to transmit to him the fullest information as to the general state of the eastern churches, more especially as to all that might enlighten him upon the origin and character of the rumoured disturbances among the monastic bodies of Palestine and Egypt.[b]

[a] *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. lxxxvi. ad Marcian, p. 334; ep. lxxxvii. ad Pulch. Aug. p. 335.

[b] *Ibid.* Op. tom. ii. ep. lxxxviii. p. 337.

Exceptive adoption of the Chalcedonian decrees by pope Leo.

The disturbances alluded to by the pope, added to the restless spirit of religious faction nearer home, had already given serious uneasiness to the government. All parties were shocked by the protest of the legates, and the rejection of a material part of a series of legislative measures emanating from the most august of the general councils of Christendom; a course of conduct which proved, they thought, how little esteem was entertained at Rome for all other councils. The heretics took advantage of this impression to decry the credit of Chalcedon, and to involve its decrees in the imputed inconsistencies and squabbles of its constituents. In order to counteract this mischievous misapprehension, to tranquillise the wavering, and to strengthen his hands in dealing with religious faction, Marcian requested the pope to publish such an authentic declaration of adhesion to the acts of the late council as should dissipate all doubt of the esteem in which he held them. Leo replied, that after the public conciliar assent and subscription to those acts by his legates, and his own letters of ratification addressed to the court and patriarch, he did not see the necessity of any further instrument to explain his views, or to give them greater publicity than that they already enjoyed; but inasmuch as such a supplementary declaration was considered requisite for the satisfaction of the emperor and his consort, and might tend to silence the whisperings of those malignants who desired to cast a veil over their own perfidy by involving the acts of the synod in ambiguity and ill repute, he again declared his approval of all that had been there determined *relative to the faith*, but jealously guarded himself against a constructive approbation of any act that might have been done in violation of the "divinely-inspired council of Nicæa;" and he again expressly overruled and quashed the provision made for the unlawful augmentation of the see of Constantinople, (as he alleged) against the tenor of the "*holiest of all councils.*"[c]

[c] *Leon. Mag.* Op. ep. lxxxix. ad Synod. Chalced. p. 343; and ep. xc. ad Julian. p. 346.

Rupture between Anatolius and pope Leo.

Galled and wounded by the fetters which the superior energy and talents of his opponent had thrown around him, the haughty Anatolius recoiled from the compulsory communion with a master whom he had never ceased to regard as his enemy. The appointment of Andrew the Eutychian in the place of Aëtius, the friend of Leo, was a first step towards a rupture of the hated connection with Rome. An opportunity occurred soon afterwards of dealing a more sensible blow to the territorial ambition of the Roman pontiff. From the date of the partition of the empire between the emperors Gratian and Theodosius the Great, the patriarchs of Constantinople had been accustomed to regard every province which fell to the eastern division as included within the sphere of their ecclesiastical influence. The autocrats of the East had, naturally enough, encouraged this disposition; and thus it happened that, when, about a twelvemonth after the dissolution of the council of Chalcedon, Anatolius of his own authority assembled the prelates of Illyricum Orientale to obtain their concurrence in the privileges conferred upon the church of Constantinople by the xxviii[th] canon of that synod,[d] the emperor Marcian, and even the devout Pulcheria herself, saw nothing offensive or extraordinary in the proceeding. Leo, however, resented it as a daring invasion of the Roman prerogative, and hastened to encounter it with the vigour displayed in all his encounters with spiritual or carnal foes. He renounced all communication with Anatolius; he declined further remonstrance or correspondence with that person; and directed his legate, or apocrisarius, Julian of Cos, to address himself directly to the emperor[e]

[d] The words used by Leo in his letter to Julian of Cos, deseribing this transaction, represent Anatolius as soliciting the bishops of Illyricum "ut sibi subscriberent," *i. e.* "to turn over to him," and break off their connexion with Rome. Belonging as they did to the eastern empire, they appeared to fall within the ecclesiastical influence of the eastern patriarch, who, in accordance with the definition of the canon, was endowed with "equal privilege" in the East with that enjoyed by Rome in the West. We have no intimation, however, of the preeise grounds upon which Anatolius demanded the adhesion of the Illyrians; but the *argumentum ad hominem* was too likely to serve his turn to have been overlooked by him.

[e] See the instructions, *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. xc. p. 346, and ep. xciii. pp. 355, 356.

for reparation and the suppression of such monstrous insolence.

Pope Leo, in fact, contemplated his own position in the Church at this moment with pride and satisfaction. He looked upon the doctrinal pacification accomplished at Chalcedon as his own work, and could hardly bring himself to doubt either its completeness or its permanence. Men of his stamp rarely form a just estimate of the inconveniences arising from a compulsory adoption of their own views, especially in matters of religion. He had heard of, indeed, and regretted the religious warfare then raging in the East, and had demanded more precise information upon the subject; but after all, *that*, he thought, was the business of the civil government; it was for the emperor to suppress and punish all disturbances of the public peace. He was, however, nothing loth to volunteer his advice as to the mode of proceeding most likely to conduce to the restoration of tranquillity, political and religious. He gave it as his opinion, that if, peradventure, among those who might be apprehended for any such offences, there should be found one or more of the ringleaders or principal abettors of heretical sedition,[f] no manner of favour should be shown to them; short, however, of the shedding of blood, to which he could by no means give his sanction.[g] The extensive correspondence of this pontiff, the multiplicity of the subjects he treats of, and the tone he assumes, are standing proofs both of his capacity for government, and his determination to support the character of universal ruler. From all his correspondents he claimed the most unreserved disclosure of every incident, matter, or thing affecting the faith; he commanded the bishops of the East to correspond directly with himself, thereby breaking down all the customary barriers of ecclesiastical intercourse, and teaching subordinates to look to him, instead of their canonical superiors, as their protector and the proper guardian of their rights; he instructed them to watch diligently the doings of all the

His method of religious government.

[f] Not, of course, noticing the ringleaders, &c. of orthodox sedition.
[g] See the two epistles last quoted.

enemies of the faith, more especially those of Anatolius, and steadily to resist his invasion of the sacred prerogative of the great patriarchs of the eastern church; extending his right of censorship to matters of discipline, he enjoined the Orientals to prohibit the monks from preaching; he animadverted upon the errors committed in Egypt and the East generally in their computations of Easter, and severely reprimanded the bishops of the former church for desecrating by their negligence the most sacred festival of the Christian religion. Again, he reproved the monks of Palestine for their wilful misapprehensions of his letter to Flavian upon the incarnation; and commanded them to desist from those turbulent and seditious movements so common among them, thereby giving occasion for disturbances of the peace of the cities and towns, raising riots, and even causing the shedding of the blood of bishops and priests. But his principal solicitude was directed to the best means of depriving the wily Greeks of all pretext for the perversion or misconstruction of his act of confirmation. To that end he ordered copies of the document to be multiplied and disseminated with the utmost diligence throughout the East; and when he was informed that his legate Julian had not thought fit to read to the court and clergy of Constantinople more than the confirmatory portion of his declaration, omitting the censure and rejection of the xxviii^th^ canon, he ordered the whole to be again rehearsed, in order that by no craft or concealment on his part, his resolution upon that vital point should be liable to the least doubt or ambiguity.[h]

Submission of Anatolius

The emperor Marcian was anxious to put an end to this uncomfortable state of things, and towards the close of the year 453 intimated to the pope that Anatolius was prepared to satisfy him as to his soundness in all matters concerning the faith. Leo re-

[h] The authorities for the facts of this paragraph are the following: *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. ad Marcian. Imp. p. 381; ep. ad Orientales, p. 357; ad Theodoret. ep. xcv. p. 361; ad Marcian. Imp. ep. xcvi. p. 367; ad Julian. Episc. ep. xcvii.; ad Eudox. Imp. ep. xcviii. p. 370; ad Monach. Palest. ep. xcix. p. 371; ad Julian. ep. c. p. 378; ad Marcian. Imp. ep. ci. p. 379; ad Julian. Episc. ep. ciii. p. 380; ad Marcian. Imp. ep. cviii. p. 393.

plied that he, on his own part, was no less ready to restore him to the grace of the holy see, as soon as he should receive satisfactory assurance, under his own hand, of his full and entire submission to the canons of the Church;[i] but that he should require him to afford proof of his desire for peace and union, by the display of a spirit of humility suitable to such a disposition, and especially by a hearty renunciation of that criminal ambition of which he had been guilty.[j] But, he protested, if Anatolius should continue obdurate on these points, he (the pope) would assuredly resort to more rigorous methods, and array against him the whole power of the thrones,[k] whose violated rights it was his (Leo's) bounden and peculiar duty to defend.[l] Anatolius yielded to the pressure of circumstances. "The emperor," he said in his letter of submission, "having, in conformity with the demand of the pope, laid his injunctions upon him, he was prepared to submit himself to him in all things; and, with a view to dissipate all doubt of his sincerity, he announced that he had dismissed the archdeacon Andrew, and restored the faithful Aëtius to his functions; he had moreover sent from his presence all companions and officials who had taken part against his predecessor Flavian, or were suspected of any sympathy with the 'execrable' Eutyches; subjecting himself in these and all other matters to the maturer deliberation and future direction of the pope. Considering, therefore, how greatly the pious emperor would rejoice, and how much it would profit the universal Church, if by any means harmony could be restored, he besought the pope speedily to indulge the affectionate yearnings of his own paternal heart, and by his autograph writing inspire him (Anatolius) with gratitude to God, and animate his prayers for the welfare and happiness of his holiness himself. As for the

[i] In the Roman form—accepting, of course, the vi[th] canon of Nice, with the spurious prefix, and rejecting the ordinances *in pari materiâ* of Constantinople and Chalcedon, as repudiated by Rome.

[j] His participation in the enactment of the xxviii[th] canon, and his attempt to draw the Illyrian bishops into his communion, in preference to that of Rome.

[k] Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch.

[l] *Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. ep. ciii.; ad Marcian. Imp. p. 381; ad eund. ep. eviii. p. 393.

resolution of the synod of Chalcedon on behalf of the church of Constantinople, he protested that it was by no fault of his that it had been adopted by the council; he solemnly assured the pope that what was done in that affair had been the result of a unanimous vote of the clergy of Constantinople and the neighbouring churches; and always,—as far as he was concerned,—with the understanding that the force of this, as of all other proceedings of the council, depended upon the authoritative confirmation of the pope."[m]

Character of the submission.

The submission of Anatolius, though to all appearance unconditional, cleverly enough evaded all allusion to the grounds upon which pope Leo would most have wished him to rest it. The authority of St. Peter's chair, the presumed infraction of the Nicene decrees, are not even remotely alluded to. The tone of the letter is apologetic rather than penitential; the writer avoids every pledge that might involve his church, or affect the credit of the Chalcedonian decrees, otherwise than as he himself understood or was personally concerned in procuring them. And, in fact, pope Leo was not deceived: he accepted the submission, but rejected the excuses of Anatolius: "for," said he, "your duty was to control, not to be controlled by your clergy; their acts are your acts; the bishop speaks for his church, and the act of the church pledges the bishop." This view, indeed, left the pope at liberty to put his own construction upon the language and conduct of Anatolius; but unless the church of Constantinople could be made to adopt the papal principle, she could not be bound by the pledge thus constructively imposed upon her. And, in fact, although Anatolius had permitted pope Leo to place his foot upon his individual neck, his church passively but resolutely rejected the papal inference. The decree of Chalcedon was irrevocably recorded upon the statute-book of the church: the privilege thereby granted was not to the bishop but to his see, and there was none to which the succeeding patriarchs adhered with more

[m] *Leon. Mag.* Op. ep. Anatol. ad Leon. tom. ii. p. 395.

inflexible resolution. It remained only to pope Leo to make the most of the document in his hands: he accepted it as an avowal that the xxviii[th] canon was a violation of the Nicene decree *in pari materiâ;* and satisfied himself by excluding it from the records of the Roman church.[n]

[n] *Leon. Mag.* Op. ep. cviii. ad Anatol. pp. 397 et sqq.; *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xv. p. 730; *Baron.* Ann. 454, § 15, cum not. *Pagi*, no. v. And see the exulting commentary of the cardinal upon this signal victory of St. Peter's chair.

CHAPTER VI.

LEONINE PERIOD. (III.)

Advantages obtained by pope Leo the Great—Substantial failure of his scheme against Constantinople—Character and merits of pope Leo the Great—Leo in the camp of Attila—His success—Retreat of Attila—Leo saves Rome from the Vandals—Political services of Leo the Great—State of religious parties in the East—Religious rebellion in the East—Progress of the Monophysite party in the East—Leo insists on the finality of the decrees of Chalcedon—Project of pacification of the emperor Leo I.—Opposition of the Egyptians—Banishment of Ælurus—Death, character, and career of pope Leo the Great—His principles of ecclesiastical polity—Practical limitation of those principles—Election and first acts of pope Hilarus—Relations of the Gallican churches to Rome and to one another—Pope Hilarus against Leontius of Arles—Hilarus in the affairs of the Gallic churches—His principle of church-legislation—Application of the Spanish churches to pope Hilarus—Roman council and rescript of Hilarus—Character of the rescript.

Advantages obtained by pope Leo.

THE advantages obtained by Leo the Great in the struggle with the rival patriarchate, though important, were by no means decisive. On the one hand, he had been permitted to expound and assert the sole primacy of the Roman church upon the broadest and most absolute principles without contradiction: the pope of Rome had been permitted—ostensibly in the capacity of primate of the universal Church—to assume the spiritual presidency of the most numerous and most respectable of all the general councils of Christendom: all its acts had been allowed to run in his name, and they had been enrolled as *his* acts, done in the capacity of "bishop of the universal Church:" his authoritative definition of the Catholic faith had been accepted and registered in the same page with the inspired symbols of

two general councils: his legates had, in his name and place as supreme judge, pronounced the sentences of the synod: all memorials presented by petitioners or applicants were addressed to "Leo the most blessed and universal patriarch of the great city of Rome, and to the holy and œcumenical council at Chalcedon,"—a form of address not ill contrived to supply a plea for denying the validity of all acts not bearing his fiat upon their face. By these several expedients the benefit of every proceeding favourable to the claims of the papacy was as fully secured as the circumstances admitted, and a road kept open to escape from such as might be deemed detrimental to its interests.

Substantial failure of his scheme against Constantinople.

But, on the other hand, pope Leo failed in the attempt to reduce Constantinople to the level of the non-apostolical chairs. The submission of Anatolius was practically inoperative; the complimentary language of the East never bore the literal signification attached to it in the West; the emperor, the patriarch, the council, had an interest in gratifying and conciliating the pope. In the ordinary transactions of public affairs, both in church and state, the Greeks adopted forms of address which were not intended to convey more than a disposition to please or to be pleased; high-sounding titles, fawning addresses, cringing compliments—every form of social or political deceit —were familiar to the daily practice of official men: abrupt contradiction to the insolence and presumption of the legates would have disappointed their views, besides being a solecism in manners; and, however provoking to some among them, the subtle Greeks were well disposed to tolerate such modes of speech as common forms countenanced by court-practice, and therefore not to be too closely construed. And, in truth, the conduct of all the parties in the council corresponded with this disingenuous habit. The emperor Marcian, deprecating the revival of that religious discord which, by the aid of the council, he had hoped to subdue, had ostensibly withdrawn his support from the patriarch Anatolius, and compelled him to make verbal amends to the pope: but

neither the one nor the other took any effectual steps to repeal the obnoxious ordinance, or to prevent it from being from that time forwards acted upon to the letter, and preserved universally in the East as an organic law of the Church.[a]

Character and merits of pope Leo the Great.

The merits of pope Leo the Great for the promotion of spiritual religion can hardly be fairly estimated; because religion itself was, in his age and in his own personal convictions, so mixed up with the outward means adopted for its maintenance—that is, with *the Church* and its external organisation—that we are at a loss to say whether he perceived any distinction at all between the one and the other. Thus his labours for the exaltation of the chair of Peter are branded by one party as mere vulgar ambition; while those who maintain strictly that the religion and the particular establishment that sustains it in the world are equally essential parts of the same divine scheme, will set those labours down as the result of devout and far-seeing inspiration. Nor can we discern in the conduct of Leo any proper evidence of that worldly self-seeking spirit which some persons have endeavoured to fasten upon him; and though this estimate does not bind us to approve of the principle upon which he acted, yet it justifies an acquittal of that narrow selfishness which too often animates the possessors of power. The services which he rendered, not only to his church—the object of his devoted affection—but to the tottering empire, at the utmost personal risk and self-sacrifice, may be deemed sufficient to discharge him of that vulgar ambition which dwells with indifference upon all considerations but those which involve personal or corporate aggrandisement.

[a] *Baronius* quotes a fragment of a law imputed to Valentinian III. and Marcian, purporting to be addressed to the præf. præt. Palladius, which he would have us to take as a legislative repeal of the xxviii[th] canon of Chalcedon. He affirms that this law contains a reversal of all "pragmatic sanctions" contrary to the canons of the Church, consequently also that complained of by pope Leo, among the rest. But the wording of the law seems rather to have reference to certain stipends (salaria) which had been improperly or uncanonically diverted from the churches. It is, moreover, far too obscure to enable us to say what these canons, or the "pragmatic sanctions" in breach of them, really were. But see *Baron.* Ann. 454, § 13. Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 774.

The reigning pontiff was, in fact, a statesman of more than ordinary experience. Before his election to the pontificate he had been employed and trusted both at home and abroad in matters of great political importance. He was well acquainted with the whole state of public affairs; he knew the full extent of that debility under which the state was gradually wasting away; and he encountered the dangers and difficulties attendant upon such a state of the public affairs with that steady courage with which the character of the office he filled was so well adapted to inspire a mind of so stout and substantial a frame as his. In the full persuasion that the powers of darkness would not be allowed to prevail against the sceptre he bore, he condescended to no calculation of personal risk. While anxiously engaged against the foes which threatened his spiritual realm, Attila the Destroyer, with his countless Scythian hosts, was hovering over Italy, ready to stoop upon the defenceless capital. Meanwhile the dissolute Valentinian was wasting his existence in the society of abandoned women, sycophants, and eunuchs, among the inaccessible morasses of Ravenna. The dissolution of the Gothic league in Gaul had left the empire without an army; the barbarian auxiliaries, who had achieved the mighty victory of the Catalaunian plains, refused their blood and labour in defence of a country in which they had neither share nor interest; other help there was none but what might be derived from able negotiation, or from the precarious and degrading expedient of tribute and largess, measurable only by the cupidity of the barbarian demandant. In this terrible emergency it was resolved that an embassy should be sent to deprecate the wrath of the conqueror; the subtle Avienus was chosen as chief of the embassy; and Leo the bishop, attended by a brilliant staff of civil and ecclesiastical officials, accompanied him as the representative of the spiritual majesty of Rome. In the fullest reliance upon the divine protection, with a perfect knowledge of the state of affairs in the barbarian camp, and trusting something to his own venerable presence and natural eloquence, Leo and his

Leo in the camp of Attila.

colleague proposed terms out of all measure more favourable to the Romans than their defenceless position entitled them to hope for; and, to the astonishment of all, those terms were accepted with satisfaction, almost with alacrity, by the ruthless barbarian, who but a short moment before had loudly proclaimed havoc and slaughter against the defenceless land and its faithless ruler.

Success of Leo; retreat of Attila.

The miracle with which a somewhat later age has adorned the narrative of this unexpected success[b] may be taken as a testimony to the religious reverence with which the hero of that great deliverance inspired the posterity of those whom he had saved from the hands of the destroyer. The success itself is readily accounted for by a state of affairs probably well known to Leo and his colleague. Diseases engendered by unbounded indulgence in the luxuries of a fertile soil and an enervating climate had made serious havoc among the barbarian host. It is credible enough that the able and eloquent pontiff dexterously availed himself of a superstitious apprehension which circulated widely among the barbarian enemies of Rome—a fear, indeed, more than once justified by the result—that no foreign conqueror ever long survived the violation of the sacred territory.[c] The frightful mortality which had already befallen them disposed them to submit to the presumed decree of fate. Besides this, Attila was not ignorant that the armies of the East, under the active and vigilant Marcian, were gathering in his rear, and that the formidable Aëtius was organising an army in Italy itself. That officer was urging on the inert court and people to unwonted exertion in his front; while his followers, sated with enjoyment and subdued by the calamities it brought along with it, were eager to return to a mode of life

[b] The apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul, threatening Attila with drawn swords, is not mentioned by pope Leo himself, nor by his secretary Prosper who attended him, nor indeed by any contemporary writer. *Baronius* (tom. viii. pp. 136, 137) adopts it implicitly from the ancient Roman breviary, aided by a mention in the historian Paulus Diaconus in his continuation of Eutropius (Historia Miscell.). Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 751. Paulus Diaconus wrote in the eighth century.

[c] *Jornandes* de Reb. Geticis, c. lxii. p. 673. This writer broadly affirms that the Huns were deterred by the fate of Alaric.

more congenial to their habits and constitutions. All these circumstances together rendered the embassy an unexpected relief to Attila; the terms obtained extricated him with credit from an embarrassing position; and he withdrew into Pannonia with an alacrity ill concealed under haughty threats of future vengeance, if the articles of the treaty should not be punctually fulfilled.[d]

Two years after the retreat of Attila, the intrepid bishop of Rome was again summoned into the arena of worldly politics. In the year 454 the vicious Valentinian III. dipped his hands in the blood of the only capable minister and general of the expiring state. The magister militum Aëtius fell by the dagger of the jealous tyrant; and about a twelvemonth afterwards, Petronius Maximus, the creature, and probably the betrayer of Aëtius, avenged his blood by the murder of the imperial assassin. Maximus assumed the purple, and dragged the widowed empress Eudoxia to his bed. The miserable woman for a while suppressed the fierce passions which burned within her. She managed meanwhile to convey a message to Genseric, the predatory sovereign of the African Vandals, holding out the plunder of Rome and Italy as a reward for ridding her of the unnatural connection with the murderer of her husband. Excited rather by the prospect of the plunder of the imperial city than by the vindictive solicitations of an injured woman, Genseric embarked the whole of his army, and landed at a point on the coast of Italy nearest to the city. Resistance was not even dreamt of; Maximus took flight, and all who had the means of escape followed the example of the court. Eudoxia seized the opportunity to accomplish her revenge; her satellites dogged the footsteps of her victim, overtook and slew him, and flung his mutilated body into the Tiber. Genseric hastened his march towards the defenceless city, burning with lust of plunder and blood. At this terrible moment Leo the bishop went forth unarmed to confront the ruthless bar-

Leo saves Rome from the Vandals.

[d] *Jornand.* de Reb. Get. ubi sup. *Idatii* Chron. ap. D. Bouquet Hist. des Gaules, tom. i. p. 619. *Prosp.* Chron. ap. *Canisii* Lectiones Antiq. tom. i. p. 305. *Cassiodor.* Chron. p. 367.

barian, and to save at least a remnant of his flock from death and ruin. By his eloquent supplications, as it is said—but far more probably by a dexterous and rational appeal to the interests of the invader—he prevailed upon Genseric to spare the city the needless horrors of indiscriminate pillage. The lives and dwellings of the remaining inhabitants were saved; but for the space of fourteen days a rigid scrutiny of all movable property was carried on; and Rome was methodically drained of all her portable public and private wealth. Spoils of inestimable value, many thousand slaves of all ages and of both sexes, and among the numerous captives, the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters by Valentinian, were carried away to Carthage.[e]

Political services of Leo the Great.

Services like these are better appreciated at a distance of time than at the moment they are rendered. The rescue of an immense and a populous city from the hands of an irresistible host of greedy savages by the mere weight of personal address and a calm appeal to the selfish interests of the victors, is an achievement of no mean merit. But reflecting for a moment upon the strength and perspicacity of the mind that could weigh at a glance the greatness of the loss that must needs be incurred against the magnitude of the gain, and the moral courage requisite to incur the one to ensure the other, and we shall not hesitate to inscribe the name of Leo bishop of Rome high upon the lists of the noblest benefactors of mankind. The emperor, the court, the wealthy, and the noble, had fled at the approach of danger: the intrepid bishop, strong in faith and hope and love, alone remained at the post of honour and of peril; and when the satiated foe had retired and left the city emptied of all its wealth and substance, and almost reduced to a wilderness of deserted habitations, there remained none to advise or to cheer the famishing remnant but the undaunted bishop and his gallant clergy. These had never quitted their posts—these had faced the foe

[e] *Prosp.* Chron. ap. D. Bouq. Hist. des Gaules, tom. i. p. 365. *Idatii* Chron. ibid. p. 620. *Procop.* de Bell. Vandal. ed. Grotii, p. 16. Conf. *Tillemont*, Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. pp. 253-262.

and averted the extremity of ruin, and their example alone kept alive the spark of hope among the despairing multitude that still clung to their desolate homes. It is in this spontaneous chieftainship that we recognise one of the most effective elements of the subsequent political greatness of the Roman bishops. The decaying mass of civil institutions became as manure at the root of the papacy. Papal Rome drew nourishment from dissolution, strength from desertion, courage from despair. In desperate emergencies like that we have just adverted to, no one will look into or scrutinise too closely the claims and titles of the deliverer; in such times the duties of civil and spiritual government are thrust into the hands best able to execute them; both duties are impelled into the same channel and flow on naturally and amicably together. To Leo it was due that Rome was not converted into a heap of smouldering ashes; and if natural justice were to decide the question between the Church and the State, without doubt the pope was the rightful governor of Rome, for without him there would have been no Rome to govern.[f]

State of religious parties in the East.

In a generation remarkable alike for feebleness, obduracy, and cowardice, pope Leo kept himself alive in the hearts and understandings of men by the vigour of a consistent and enlightened moral and intellectual character. The admirable tact with which he improved every advantage which fell in his way for the promotion of his spiritual influence scarcely ever failed of success. From the first moment of their publication the doctrines of Chalcedon had to encounter very serious opposition. The religious world in the East was divided between those who implicitly accepted, those who as peremptorily rejected, and those who would, if they could, have slipped aside from them on the plea that they could not comprehend them, and might therefore reasonably suspect some lurking danger to their orthodoxy if received as articles of faith.[g] The recusant

[f] See the spirited description of *Johann Müller*, "Reisen der Päbste,"—Works, vol. viii. p. 23.

[g] Such a suspicion was not unnatural,

class comprehended nearly all the bishops of the Egyptian diocese, where the friends of Dioscorus and the professing disciples of Cyril were still in the majority. To these may be added many of the churches of Palestine, and a host of monastic bodies, whose zeal was never restrained within any reasonable bounds. The third class of objectors consisted of nearly all the bishops of Pamphylia, and many others in Asia Minor. These persons signified their readiness to adopt the decrees and records of Chalcedon as simple instructions in their search for the truth, but declined to receive them as articles of faith possessing equal authority with the symbols of Nicæa and Constantinople; and they requested to be excused from any more formal adhesion, until those documents should have been divested of that ambiguity, which, with all the discernment they possessed, left them in doubt as to the real import of the expressions made use of.[h]

Religious rebellion in the East.

It was for some time doubtful which of these parties was really the strongest. At length, however, it became evident that the battle lay between the extremes, and that the moderate party could expect little sympathy from either. In Alexandria the quarrel was, as usual, submitted to the test of club-law. Timotheus Ælurus, a violent Eutychian, with the aid of a swarm of monks and eremites, succeeded in deposing and murdering the patriarch Proterius, who had been elected and instituted by the fathers of Chalcedon in the place of the condemned heretic Dioscorus. By favour of the monastic communities and the populace, Ælurus seated himself in the vacant chair. His first step was to pass a solemn anathema upon the decrees of Chalcedon, and to excommunicate pope Leo, as well as Anatolius of

considering the adoption of the anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria into the same record with the letter of Leo to Flavian. A concurrent examination of the two documents could not, I think, fail to inspire some misgivings.

[h] They objected in particular to the expressions used to denote the union of the two natures in the Christ. They could not, they said, understand the difference between the "two natures *in* the Christ," and the "two natures *of* the Christ." *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 807. They seem to have inclined to the formula of "one incarnate nature, human and divine, united in the Christ." But they did not insist upon this form of words; they only wished to be left at liberty to think as they liked upon this perplexing subject, and not to be any further puzzled and harassed by useless discussions.

Constantinople and Basilius of Antioch (A.D. 457). The emperor Marcian died about this time; and Leo, a Thracian nobleman of distinction, was promoted to the purple by the interest of the powerful patrician Aspar and his son Asdubarius. The new emperor was a professed friend of the Chalcedonian confession, and lost no time in registering the decrees of the council as the religious law of the state. But he soon found himself involved with a strong opposition at court, more especially on the part of his powerful patron Aspar and his own brother-in-law Basiliscus. The Eutychians clamoured for a revision of the Chalcedonian decrees; and importuned the emperor to assemble a general council for that purpose. In his perplexity, the latter applied to pope Leo to re-open the inquiry at a second general synod of the Church. Leo, however, turned a deaf ear to the proposal; and the emperor desisted from his project in the hope of extricating himself from his difficulties by another measure apparently well calculated to supply him, at least, with some criterion of the preponderating opinion among the churches of his dominions for his future guidance. With that view, encyclical letters were issued to the metropolitans of each diocese and province of the East directing them to assemble the bishops and clergy of their respective cures, and to report to him, first, their opinions as to the orthodoxy of the Chalcedonian decrees, and, secondly, their judgment respecting the proceedings of Ælurus at Alexandria.[1]

Progress of the monophysite party in the East.

The state of religious opinion in Egypt and the East generally which called for this unusual step on the part of the emperor, is very imperfectly described by the orthodox historians. Prior to the brutal murder of Proterius, they tell us a profound religious peace and unanimity had reigned all over the Catholic world; Egypt, they say, was tranquilly submissive to Proterius, and the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople lived in harmonious communion with him and one another: true, there may have been a knot of factious monks here and there in

[1] *Evag.* Schol. H. E. lib. ii. c. 10. Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xv. p. 797.

Egypt and Palestine; some few Eutychians might perhaps be found even in the capital; but, upon the whole, no serious disturbance of religious peace had occurred for a period of four entire years; the name of Marcian had been a tower of strength, and as long as he lived the Christian world had enjoyed a profound calm: yet no sooner had he passed away, though succeeded by a prince as clear as himself of all heretical taint, than the whole face of affairs underwent a sudden change; Egypt passed at once out of the control of the civil power into the hands of a lawless priest and his attendant rabble, who, by their aid, and that of the frantic monks, ejected the lawful patriarch, usurped his functions, and ultimately murdered him at the foot of his own altar.[j] But this account will not bear a closer examination. The monophysite section of the Church was one of the most long-lived factions that ever disturbed the peace of Christendom, and always mustered greater numbers than it was at all convenient to admit. The death of Marcian cannot account for the sudden appearance of a party strong enough to overpower the civil government, and in the course of a few months to revolutionise the hierarchical constitution of the most populous and important diocese of the East. The outbreak of the troubles in Alexandria corresponds, indeed, in point of time, with the death of Marcian; but the arts by which Ælurus is represented to us to have seduced the good Catholics of Egypt are those of a common juggler,—arts which might, indeed, for the moment have deceived the lowest populace, but were totally inadequate to form the basis of a party of so solid a character as that which Ælurus and his monophysite successors are sufficiently proved to have established.

Leo insists on the finality of the decrees of Chalcedon.

The fact is, the first days of the new reign were disturbed by a violent reaction against the Chalcedonian decrees. The causes of this apparent revulsion of public feeling could at

j *Tillemont*, tom. xv. pp. 782 to 788. The good father adopts all the stories which the orthodox writers have spread abroad to damage the reputation of their antagonists, and reduce both the numbers and the quality of their opponents. Conf. the Ep. of the Egyptian bishops to pope Leo, Op. *S. Leon.* tom. ii. pp. 424 to 430.

no time have been a secret to any intelligent observer of the religious state: the Church, and—beyond all question—the court of Constantinople, were divided between the two extreme opinions respecting the union of the two natures in the Christ; while the numerous partisans of the Nestorian doctrines were watching their opportunity against both. Pope Leo was inexpressibly alarmed at the project of a revived inquiry into the orthodoxy of a doctrine defined and affirmed by his own irrefragable decision. As far as they had met with his approval, he had identified himself and his chair with the decrees of Chalcedon; and he felt that not only his own reputation, but the dignity of the see of Peter, and the powers and prerogatives claimed as appurtenant thereto, were again at stake.[k] He took little account of the kings of the earth; they were, after all, but instruments in the hands of God, through His representative upon earth, for the well-being of His Church, for the execution of His decrees concerning the faith, and the vigorous, yet merciful suppression of all resistance, heresy, or schism. He therefore strictly prohibited any renewal of inquiry—any iteration of council, synod, or deliberation; and plainly intimated to the new emperor that the Church would suffer no investigation upon questions once decided by the holy see, but such as might emanate from herself, and move directly from that rock of the faith upon which she was founded—the chair of Peter.

Project of pacification of the emperor Leo I.

But without taking into account the papal opposition, political obstacles stood in the way of the project for reviving the discussion of the litigated doctrines. No advantage could be derived from the proposed synod as long as the great diocese of Egypt continued in a state of open insurrection. The emperor's embarrassing position, between the friends of the Chalcedonian decrees and his own monophysite relatives and supporters, deprived him of the

[k] See particularly *S. Leon.* Op. tom. ii. ep. cxxix. p. 433: "Cum ergo universalis ecclesia per illius principalis Petræ edificationem facta sit Petra, et primus apostolorum beatissimus Petrus, voce Domini dicentis audierit, 'Tu es Petrus; et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam,' quis est, nisi aut Antichristus aut diabolus, qui pulsare audeat inexpugnabilem firmitatem?"

power to re-establish a balance of parties, or even to keep the peace among an assemblage which must be composed of so many conflicting elements and such combustible materials. The project of an œcumenical council was therefore abandoned, and that of encyclical letters substituted for it. Between the issuing of these precepts and the returns or replies of the churches, pope Leo strove to dissuade or deter the Oriental prelates even from entertaining the questions propounded in them; he insisted upon the absolute unlawfulness of either public or private re-examination of the Chalcedonian decrees; discussion itself was an offence against religion.[l] When the answers appeared, neither the emperor nor the pope had any good cause of complaint. The majority of the eastern churches were found to adhere nominally to the decrees of Chalcedon. A few only objected,[m] and others hesitated from inability to comprehend the terms used in the controversy, or because they thought that where so many were so nearly agreed upon the doctrines themselves, it savoured of a schismatic spirit to insist obstinately upon any particular form of words. But with reference to the second question addressed to the churches, as to the criminal intrusion of Ælurus into the see of Alexandria, and the murder of Proterius, but one sentiment of horror and reprobation pervaded all the replies, with the exception of those of the Egyptian diocese. These churches generally professed their firm adhesion to the confession of Nicæa, but peremptorily rejected the decrees of Chalcedon.[n] Upon the identical grounds adopted by pope Leo himself in defence of the irreversible character of that confession, and in nearly the same terms, the Egyptians denied the existence of any power in the Church "to add to, take away from, or vary that which the holy fathers of Nicæa had determined under the immediate inspiration of the

Opposition of the Egyptians.

[l] See the letters of Leo to the emperor, the patriarch, and his friends in the East, written in the years 457 and 458,—*Leon. Mag.* Op. tom. ii. pp. 432, 436, 438, 439, 446.

[m] *e. g.* Amphilochus, metropolitan of Sida, in Pamphylia. *Evag.* Schol. H. E. lib. ii. c. x.

[n] See the fragment of the letter of the Egyptian bishops, Op. *Leon. Mag.* tom. ii. p. 431.

Holy Spirit;" and they contended that neither argument, explanation, or discussion ought to be permitted upon a subject of so sacred and immutable a nature. The ground was not ill chosen, if either party had entertained the remotest intention of treating the dogmatic union of the two natures as an open question upon the terms of the confession of Nicæa. All parties—orthodox, monophysite, Nestorian—had professed a general adhesion to that confession; yet all had in turn discussed, defined, and added to its terms; the plea was without a meaning in the mouth of any party; and Timotheus of Alexandria maintained his hold upon his usurped chair for a period of nearly four years, upon the intelligible grounds of popular favour and agreement with the general religious opinion of his diocese. In the year 458 Anatolius of Constantinople died, and was succeeded by Gennadius, a prelate of strictly orthodox opinions. The new patriarch zealously applied himself to the suppression of heresy in Egypt; and after long and earnest solicitation obtained an order from the emperor Leo for the expulsion of the intruder Ælurus from the church of Alexandria. The monophysite patriarch was banished to the Taurian Chersonesus; and the orthodox minority, under imperial protection, installed a patriarch of their own confession in the person of Timotheus Solifaciolus.°

Banishment of Ælurus.

In the year 461 pope Leo the Great closed his noble career, after a pontificate of rather more than twenty-one years. The solidity and subtlety of his genius—qualities rarely found in union in the same subject—had carried him triumphantly through a controversy which baffled human intelligence, and set at naught the most refined niceties of language. As a rhetorician he outstripped all his contemporaries; in grasp of the subject in hand he had no equal; the learning and the study he brought to bear upon whatever matter he had to deal with were an earnest of the profound sincerity with which he went to work; and the proud and fiery declamation with which he enforced his own convictions contributed in no small

Death, character, and career of pope Leo the Great.

° *Baron.* Ann. 457 and 460, §§ 2 to 16.

degree to carry the like convictions to the minds of those he addressed. By such powers of head and heart he made friends, and intimidated, if he could not gain, his adversaries. Irrespectively of his own personal opinions upon the matters of controversy in which he was engaged, pope Leo saw no end to the prevailing religious discord but in the supremacy of one over all,—as there was but one God, so there could be but one œcumenical bishop and ruler of His Church,—as there was but one faith, so there could be but one definition of faith, proceeding from the one bishop of the universal Church, as the Holy Spirit from the one God and Father of all: upon such principles alone could the feverish agitation of the religious mind be soothed or quelled; thus alone could there be an end of controversy; and to that termination he applied his whole soul, every faculty of mind and body, with a singleness and uprightness of purpose altogether unexampled among the long catalogue of his successors. And for that purpose his discernment and acuteness traced out the simplest, and perhaps the most innocuous formulæ by which the jarring elements of controversy might be brought into subjection, if they could not be reconciled or harmonised.[p] But in such an age and state of the public mind, eloquence and intelligence would have had little chance of success if unsupported by strong prepossessions and high official authority. As the first bishop of the Christian Church, sitting in the chair of the prince of the apostles, he was the acknowledged president of the hierarchy. This presidency he himself regarded—and so he desired others to regard it—as a spiritual monarchy. To that end all his instructions were framed. Dropping the friendly tone of admonition and advice, he rarely departed from the hard, precise, and laconic style of command and precept. He repudiated, in virtue of his office, all foreign control, individual or collective; he might grant, but he could not receive a favour; he might claim for himself and his see the merits of clemency and mercy and forbearance and long-suffering; in others the only merit he acknowledged was that of obedience.

[p] See Appendix B at end of this Book; note on the "Tomus ad Flavianum."

In this spirit he assumed the direction of the great council of Chalcedon; he dictated a formula of faith, and enrolled his own foregone adjudication as the single rule of faith for the whole Christian world. Who shall blame him, if, after securing such advantages on behalf of his personal and official character, he erred in his estimate of that under-current of habits, passions, and prejudices, which, in the very last act of the great drama, threatened to place an equal by his side among the thrones of Christendom? Who shall chide him for want of tact or discrimination, if he failed to extinguish every spark of self-action in the Church, or to cut off every path of escape from the autocracy of St. Peter's chair? And, in fact, no general in the field ever covered his failures with a bolder front, or managed to retain the advantages gained with a more practised eye. It is, indeed, difficult to point out in history so striking an instance of the power of individual will to shape to its own purposes elements so little controllable by the ordinary resources of religious or political management.

Principles of the ecclesiastical policy of pope Leo the Great.

Making due allowance for the temper of the times, and for official and inherited opinions, we find little room for censure in the career of pope Leo the Great. But assuredly his character shines out in its brightest lustre when we contemplate him going forth in the name of the Lord to confront the most ruthless savage who ever desolated the face of the earth; to soothe the wild passions of the barbarian conquerors, and to roll back the tide of destruction from a helpless land. Leo prayed for his people with a heart uplifted by pious confidence; his prayer fructified in his own bosom, and brought forth the fruits of practical self-reliance and active heroism — qualities from which the expected blessing is not often withheld. But to our purpose these are not the points which possess the greatest interest in the history of this extraordinary man; his personal merits are of importance chiefly as they imparted weight and momentum to the principles he strove to establish. Leo I. laid the foundation of his ecclesiastical system in a close alliance with the state.

Though the religious theory of the chair of Peter was, beyond doubt, perfectly well defined in his mind, his political sagacity must have convinced him that it was not so in the contemplation even of the western, much less in that of the eastern churches. The most effectual process for impressing his own theory upon the whole body of the Church was, the calling in the aid of temporal legislation. With this view he procured the edict of the year 445,[q] which raised him to the exalted position of "spiritual director and governor" of the universal Church, as far as the jurisdiction of the enacting power extended. The terms of the edict were no doubt adopted by the emperor, and accepted by the pope, in the same absolute sense—that, namely, in which Valentinian III. himself, and all around him, conceived his own political authority. Thus the laws and canons of the Church would be to the pope what the imperial edicts and rescripts were to the emperor; that is, they would be regarded as legislative instructions to their respective subjects, without fettering the central authorities themselves, or preventing them from dealing with canons or laws as expediency or interest might require. And in this way we find pope Leo dealing with the obnoxious canons of Constantinople (A.D. 381), and the still more offensive xxviii[th] canon of Chalcedon; he ignored or rejected these statutes of the universal Church upon the express ground that, as *sovereign interpreter and conservator of ecclesiastical law, and supreme director and governor of the Church-catholic*, he deemed them inconsistent with a pre-existing law, to which he thought fit to attribute an immutable sanctity equivalent to that of divine revelation.[r]

Practical limitation of those principles.

But pope Leo was not prepared to reveal the esoteric principle of church-government to the gaze of the world in this its naked form. It is perhaps but fair to remark, that he neither wished nor intended that the powers he claimed in virtue of the Petrine primacy should be understood to extend to an absolute right to set aside the ordinances of the Church, or to seize into his own hands the whole

[q] See Book II. c. iv. p. 353.

[r] See Book II. c. v. p. 406.

power of ecclesiastical legislation. He preferred presenting himself and his chair as the official *visitor* and *superintendent* of the universal Church, or as supreme guardian and conservator of existing law—an aspect which cast a graceful veil over those unsightly features of spiritual autocracy which a closer examination must inevitably have lifted aside. It may be reasonably, as well as charitably believed, that pope Leo shrank from a too consequential inquiry into the real scope and tendency of his own principles; and that he would himself have been shocked at that unmitigated religious despotism for which his name and authority were vouched by his successors. Yet the edict of Valentinian III. had approximated the principles of secular and ecclesiastical government as closely as words could bring them; and wonder, as well as censure, are alike misplaced in estimating the merits of men whose vocation it was, not to examine, but consistently to carry out the established principles of their craft.

Election and earlier acts of pope Hilarus.

The election of a pontiff to succeed the deceased pope fell upon his archdeacon Hilarus, a devoted pupil of his school, and believed to have been recommended by himself as his successor. Hilarus had been an active agent of the papal policy during the entire reign of Leo the Great; he had represented Rome at the so-called "ruffian" or "robber synod" of Ephesus, and commemorated his escape from the toils of Dioscorus by the erection of a chapel dedicated to St. John the Evangelist.[8] It chanced that, shortly after his accession to the pontificate, a dispute had arisen between Leontius, archbishop of Arles, and Mamertus, the metropolitan of Vienne, about their respective jurisdictions. The new pope availed himself of this opportunity to revive with even greater severity the claims of Rome upon the obedience of the Gallic churches. Notifying his election to Leontius, Hilarus reminded the

[8] *Olduin*, ap. Ciacone, Vit. Pont. in Hilaro, p. 317. Conf. ch. iv. p. 370 of this Book.

churches presided over by the former of their subjection to the successor of Peter as the universal primate, and dwelt strongly on the supreme authority of his see. Leontius answered in the terms he thought most likely to secure the favour of the new pontiff against the pretensions of his rival. Hilarus in reply commended the dutiful professions of the archbishop; and directed him without delay to introduce the *discipline of the Roman church* into his province, "in order that, as there was but *one faith*, so there might also be but *one order and discipline*." And he added, that "with a view to that essential unity and concord that ever ought to prevail between the bishops of the Lord, he was resolved to see the *ordinances of the fathers every where* punctually adopted and carried into execution."[t]

Relation of the Gallican churches to Rome and to one another.

The position and relations to Rome of the Gallican churches at this period are not uninteresting to our narrative. The edict of Valentinian III. had in a general way determined that relation: they had fallen legally under the supreme government of the pope; and civil obedience at least might be claimed against them by the pontiff of Rome as "supreme director and governor of all the churches." But the "directing and governing" hand had been up to this moment felt rather as an element of uncertainty and discord in the relations of those churches to one another. The nature and the limits of the governing power was almost unintelligible; and the various attempts of the popes to vary the traditional or customary provincial and diocesan rights and boundaries had tended but little to enfeeble the memory of their primitive independence. Thus, notwithstanding the decree of Zosimus in favour of Arles, the archbishops of Vienne and Narbonne had never admitted the primacy of that see.[v] Dating from the year 421, Narbonne had indeed been emancipated in form from the jurisdiction of Arles; and in the year 445, pope Leo the Great had, by

[t] *Baron.* Ann. 462, §§ 3, 4, 5; *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. p. 36.
[v] Conf. ch. ii. p. 298 of this Book.

way of punishment upon St. Hilary, separated both the latter see and that of Vienne from his primacy;[w] yet the succeeding archbishops clung with true ecclesiastical tenacity to their ancient rights, and Arles was still the acknowledged metropolitan or patriarchal president of all the churches within the provinces of Narbonnensian and Lugdunensian Gaul.[x]

Pope Hilarus against Leontius of Arles.

The confusion in the mind of the Roman pontiff resulting from this state of things is even more remarkable than that which is exhibited in the conduct of the Gallic prelates. Notwithstanding the official dismemberment of the see of Arles by his predecessors, pope Hilarus still affected to hold Leontius responsible for all infractions of what he was pleased to call the "ordinances of the fathers,"[y] that might occur within provinces which, by the adjudication of Rome herself, had been severed from the Arelatensian primacy. The pope reproached him in the harshest terms for having heedlessly permitted Rusticus, archbishop of Narbonne, on his deathbed to nominate one Hermes, his archdeacon, to be his successor in that see. This person, it appears, had been previously consecrated bishop of Beziers; but was rejected by the people of that town, and had thereupon retired to his former domicile at Narbonne. On the death of his patron and friend Rusticus, he had succeeded to the vacant chair with the full consent of the clergy and people of that city, though the proceeding had been disapproved by pope Leo the Great. Hilarus hastened to censure the presumed irregularity; and, without reference to the decrees of his predecessors, again exempted Narbonne from the jurisdiction of Arles, as a punishment for the alleged neglect of Leontius to report to the holy see the complicated scandals of the nomination of Hermes,[z] and thereby depriving the pope of the opportunity of rectifying what he

[w] Conf. ch. iv. p. 351 of this Book.

[x] Conf. *Fleury*, II. E. tom. v. p. 576.

[y] This phrase will be found in the sequel constantly in the mouths of the popes; in almost all instances denoting the government, discipline, and ritual of the *Roman church*, to the exclusion of those of every other church, whom she supposes to have no "fathers" but the one father of Rome.

[z] The irregularities (*iniquitates*) complained of were, *first*, that Hermes had

(Leontius) could not or would not amend. A subsequent explanation, indeed, induced the pontiff to modify his censures upon Hermes, yet without admitting the propriety of the excuses of Leontius. Hilarus permitted Hermes to retain his chair, but deprived him for the term of his life of the enjoyment of all metropolitan rights. The bishops of the Narbonnensis submitted to this arbitrary decision; but their submission is accounted for by the anarchical state of that province. Torn by dissensions among themselves about their respective jurisdictions, each of the litigants in his turn looked to Rome for support; and all were fearful of offending a power which might at any time step forward as an ally, an enemy, or a judge.[a]

Pope Hilarus in the affairs of the Gallic churches.

The ignorance or misapprehension of the acts of former popes apparent in the conduct of pope Hilarus did not prevent him from pursuing the course laid down for him by his great predecessor with energy and effect. He availed himself promptly of the opportunity which the actual state of the Gallic churches afforded to seize into his own hands as large a

been previously consecrated to another see, and that his translation to that of Narbonne was uncanonical; and, *secondly*, that he had been nominated during the lifetime of his predecessor. But it is to be noticed, that Hermes had never been inducted into the see of Beziers; he had never sat as bishop, consequently could not have been translated from any seat or see. As to the second charge, there is no known canon that absolutely prohibited a bishop from indicating his own successor, unless it be the xxiii[d] canon of Antioch, which was not received in the Church till long after this time, and which seems to relate only to bishops so nominated without the subsequent consent of the comprovincial bishops, which would undoubtedly have been irregular. *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccl. tom. xvi. p. 41. This writer adds, that it was an ordinary practice even of the greatest saints to name or designate their successors. St. Augustine did so, without being conscious of violating any canon. St. Macarius of Jerusalem is said in the same way to have nominated his successor. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 462, § 7; and *Bower*, vol. ii. p. 146.

[a] *Dupin*, de Ant. Eccl. Discipl. pp. 30-33. This writer gives a summary of these disputes and their causes; and, by the way, has some strong remarks on the poverty, the vagueness, and the insufficiency of the ecclesiastical law of that age. It has been suggested, with a view to save the consistency of the holy see in treating the primate of Arles as responsible for acts done in parts of the primatial province severed from his jurisdiction by the sentence of Rome, that the pontiff of that church was, in virtue of the commission of Zosimus to bishop Patroclus, thirty-six years before this, the papal vicar for the Gallic provinces, and therefore bound to report to the pope all irregularities or other matters of moment occurring within those provinces. But we cannot imply a descendable office from a single appointment; and it is remarkable that pope Hilarus himself should not have placed the responsibility of Leontius upon the ground of this supposed vicarial duty, but that he should rather have treated it as incident to the episcopal function in its relation to the holy see as universal moderator or supreme judge of all canonical transgression.

share of the government of those churches as his position enabled him to exercise. Late in the year 462[b] he issued his precept to Leontius of Arles to hold periodical synods of the Gallic clergy for the purpose of making presentation to the pope of all irregularities in discipline and morals that might call for ecclesiastical censure, with express instructions to reserve for the decision of the holy see all the *graviores causæ*, or such as could not fitly be determined by the synods themselves.[c] This order was, it seems, either disregarded or imperfectly obeyed. Shortly after its promulgation Mamertus archbishop of Vienne revived the claims of his see to the primacy of Gaul by ordaining a bishop to a see within the province of Arles. Leontius might reasonably regard this invasion of his jurisdiction as his own affair; but, however this might be, he appears to have omitted to report the intrusion of Mamertus to the pope, and the latter reproached him in the severest terms for the high contempt of the holy see involved in so flagrant a neglect of duty. About the same time Hilarus wrote a general epistle to all the Gallic prelates, reflecting with unbounded severity upon the conduct of Mamertus. He accused that prelate of every imaginable offence in having dared to set at defiance the "ordinances of the fathers" and the authority of the holy see: he reminded him of his former dependence upon the see of Arles, and of his unmerited emancipation —due only to the necessity of punishing a former rebellious bishop of that see:[d] a like punishment might befall himself for a like transgression: the jurisdiction which he had abused might at any moment be withdrawn from him if he should refuse or delay to confess and amend his error. He reminded the bishops of Gaul that by virtue of the imperial decree[e] their duty to the holy see and to the state-law were now the same: "Our brother Leontius," said the pope, "cannot be deprived (by any one) of rights granted to him by our predecessor of holy memory; because by

[b] On the 3d December of that year.

[c] *Baron.* Ann. 462, § 9, p. 253.

[d] St. Hilary of Arles, deposed by pope Leo the Great. Chap. iv. of this Book, p. 351.

[e] That of Valentinian III. See chap. iv. p. 353 of this Book.

virtue of the decree of the most Christian princes *all regulations concerning the churches made by the pontiff of the apostolic see upon his own inquisition*, for the maintenance of peace and union among the priests of the Lord and for *the observance of his* (the pope's) *discipline among all*, ought to be received with all reverence and rigidly obeyed; it being manifest that whatsoever is ordained by the joint sanction of *ecclesiastical* (papal) *precept and of the royal authority* can by no means be plucked up or torn down."[f]

Hilarus on the principle of church-legislation.

The declaration of pope Hilarus falls little short of a claim to a universal and exclusive legislative authority in the Church. An unlimited visitatorial power, coupled with the right to frame ordinances of universal obligation for the remedy of evils which in the exercise of that power might come to light, is inconsistent with any scheme of independent legislation. If the enactments of the churches might at any time be reversed by a papal inquest, it is obvious that ecclesiastical synods—general or provincial—must be reduced to the functions of ministerial or consultative bodies, competent only to collect information, and to report, or to act as simple courts of registration for the promulgation of the ordinances of the "supreme director and governor;" but disabled from making new, or maintaining old laws, except by license from, or—what is much the same thing—subject to the veto of the supreme power. Leo the Great had been satisfied with the simple visitatorial function; at least he abstained from expressing any such disqualifying inference as that involved in the declaration of his successor to the Gallic prelates. But the rejection of the canons of Constantinople and Chalcedon by that pontiff indicates plainly that such inference lay close at hand; and that a slight provocation might at any moment have

[f] *Baron.* Ann. 464, §§ 4 et sqq. p. 259. The words of the original letter run as follows: "Quia Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, ut quicquid ecclesiis et eorum rectoribus, pro quiete omnium sacerdotum Domini, atque ipsius observantia disciplinæ in auferendis confusionibus, apostolicæ sedis antistes suo pronunciasset examine, veneranter accipi tenaciterque servari cum suis plebibus, charitas vester cognosceret; nec unquam possent convelli, quæ et sacerdotali ecclesiasticâ præceptione fulcirentur et regiâ." Conf. *Tillemont*, Mém. &c. tom. xvi. p. 44.

called it forth. Hilarus at the same time more clearly perceived the advantage of that incorporation of the papal ordinances with the law of the state which the decree of Valentinian III. had established. The authority of those ordinances was by that decree placed upon a level with that of the imperial laws, and the pontiff claimed for them an operation resting, of course, upon an equally autocratic basis. The time may not yet have arrived for the fuller development of the principle of pontifical church-legislation, but the ground was taken up—the position was occupied—the fulcrum was fixed for the upheaving of the old foundations of the Church, and the erection of a fabric more in harmony with the reduced political and religious state of the world. Yet up to this period the current of ecclesiastical government ran on much in its accustomed channels. Though sometimes interrupted, the current could not be suddenly diverted. Time was required to convert the exceptive into the normal condition of the churches. But even now the ecclesiastical system was so shaken by disputes and rivalries, and the decay of spiritual religion had kept so even a pace with political and social degradation, that the intervention of a strong hand to sustain the whole structure must have appeared to most men as a dispensation of Providence for the maintenance of the form, if not of the substance, of a Christian Church in the world.

Application of the Spanish churches to pope Hilarus.

The short pontificate of Hilarus was fruitful in opportunities for the practical application of the Leonine principle of government. A common opinion—always industriously disseminated by the church of Rome—had gone abroad that the whole western world was indebted to St. Peter and his successors for the knowledge of Christ. Thus the notion was engendered of a spiritual kindred, in close parallel with that of parent and child in the natural world, between the church of Rome and those who believed themselves to have been begotten unto Christ through the gospel preached to them from thence. The sentiments of attachment and duty arising out of this relationship inclined them to look to Rome for advice in cases involv-

ing serious doubt or difficulty, and to accept her decisions with filial respect. The Spanish churches in particular regarded Rome as their mother-church, and naturally chose her as the arbiter of their internal differences. Thus, in the year 465, two incidents occurred which gave occasion to recur to the Petrine see for such advice. Bishop Sylvanus of Calahorra had, it appears, assumed metropolitan rights, and had ordained bishops to minor sees in his vicinity without the consent or knowledge of his archbishop Ascanius of Tarragona, in direct contravention of the iv[th] canon of the council of Nicæa and the ii[d] of Constantinople.[g]

About the same time, Nundinarius, bishop of Barcelona, had on his deathbed recommended as his successor one Irenæus, the acting bishop of a town within his province. After his death the provincial synod, with the full approbation of the clergy and people of Barcelona, translated Irenæus from the lesser to the greater see. But some doubts appear to have crossed their minds as to the bearing of the xv[th] of the Nicene canons upon this transaction. Episcopal translations, though common enough in the East, might appear to the Latins, through a loose version, to be repugnant to the letter of that canon;[h] and in this difficulty the council of the province applied to pope Hilarus to confirm the appointment of Irenæus by authority of the chair of Peter. The Spanish churches at the same time reported their proceedings against Sylvanus of Calahorra, and requested his opinion upon both matters. The terms of the synodal epistle are remarkable. "*Although*," said they, "*there be no existing law of ecclesiastical discipline which makes it necessary to address ourselves to you* upon these affairs, yet we have thought it expedient in fact therein to take council of your see, which in right of the most blessed Peter—him to whom were delivered the keys of the kingdom of heaven . . . . and to whose sole ministry the whole uni-

g Conf. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 323 and 809.

h The canon recites that "in consequence of frequent disturbances and seditions, it was necessary to cut off the causes;" and to that end, all bishops, priests, and deacons were strictly prohibited from passing over (μεταβαίνειν) from one city (or place) to another (ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν).

verse was indebted for spiritual illumination—possesseth so exalted a privilege; as also of you who, as his vicar, and endowed with his whole principality, are in an equal degree with him to be both feared and loved. Therefore we, chiefly adoring in you the God whom you serve, now recur to the faith authenticated by your apostolic voice; seeking an answer there, from whence no error or inadvertence are to be looked for, and whence all things are delivered with true pontifical deliberation."[i]

Roman council and rescript of Hilarus.

It would probably occur to every intelligent reader of the statute upon which this doubt arose, that the prohibition was intended to meet that irregular habit of migration from city to city and from province to province, which had given frequent occasion for riot and sedition among the churches, more particularly in the course of the Arian controversy; but without the remotest intention to throw any obstacles in the way of synodal or other regular translations, or in any degree to curtail the powers of the ordinary ecclesiastical judicature. Pope Hilarus appears to have adopted a different construction. In the month of November 465 he laid the letters of the Spanish churches before a pontifical synod. The case of Irenæus engrossed the attention of the pope; he declared his resolution to permit no violence to be done to the sacred canons; and the bishops present interrupted the reading of the letters to express their reprobation of the iniquity involved in the translation of a bishop from one see to another; the voice of the pontiff himself was drowned by the boisterous protest of the assembly; and a unanimous resolution was recorded that the integrity of the canons ought to be maintained, and that all who should transgress them were amenable to the apostolic see for such offence. They further resolved that no bishop be henceforth ordained without the consent of his metropolitan; that no one should presume to forsake his own church to pass over to another, in defiance of the "canon which prohibits a bishop from migrating to any other church;"[j] that Irenæus, who had been guilty

[i] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 787. *Baron.* Ann. 465, p. 268.

[j] "Quâ vetatur ne quis, relictâ ecclesiâ suâ, ad alteram *transire* præsu-

of that transgression, be immediately sent back to his own church; that no election be acknowledged by the holy see if the candidate be the husband of a widow, or have contracted a second marriage, or if there should have been a bishop already consecrated to the same church, or if he be illiterate, or maimed in any member of his body, or be in a state of unexpired penance; lastly, that, inasmuch as the restoration of Irenæus to his prior church was an act of grace and favour rather than of right, if he should hesitate or delay his return, his name be erased from the list of Christian bishops.[k] In the papal rescript to the Spanish prelates Hilarus denied the voluntary character of their application; "they were greatly in error, he said, if they supposed that the desire of the people of Barcelona[l] could justify their disobedience of the laws of God; they had, on the contrary, grievously sinned in not having at once repelled all such requests, and had aggravated their offence by desiring him (the pope) to connive at their evil deed, under the futile plea that it was sanctioned by a synod; as if the sin were extenuated by the multitude of the sinners; nay, Ascanius himself had been greatly to blame in following that multitude to do evil, instead of leading them, as in duty bound, into the right path. It was therefore decreed that Irenæus forthwith be sent back to his own church, and that the people of Barcelona do make a canonical election of a bishop to preside over their church from among their own clergy." Towards Sylvanus of Calahorra pope Hilarus was inexplicably indulgent; the offender himself was not even named, and the offence with which he was charged was censured only in general terms. "In consideration," said the pope, on this branch of the inquiry, "of the calamities of the times, and to avoid the appearance of harshness," he had confirmed the appointments hitherto made upon condition that the persons nominated were properly qualified according to the canons, and provided that in

mat." An obviously partial construction of the canon in question.

[k] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 788 et sqq.

[l] In favour of Irenæus.

future no similar infractions of ecclesiastical discipline be tolerated.[m]

The offence of Irenæus was at the worst doubtful, that of Sylvanus undeniable; yet the former was reprehended and deposed, the latter pardoned. Hilarus, it seems, shrunk with aversion from the guilt of the former, against whom nothing could be produced but an ambiguous expression in a canon, adopted probably with a very different view, while a temporary expediency sufficed to excuse a glaring infraction of a clear and intelligible rule of the "holiest of general councils."[n] The loud profession of the pope to "permit no violence to be done upon the sacred canons" was either forgotten as soon as it was uttered, or we must suppose him to have reverted to *the Petrine power to dispense with the laws of the Church*, as policy or outward expediency might suggest.[o] The rescript of pope Hilarus, however, solemnly decreed that no bishop could, upon any plea, be removed from one see to another. If, therefore, Rome shall at any time hereafter be found to have adopted or sanctioned the forbidden practice, it can only have been in virtue of a power enabling her at pleasure to set aside every one of those statutes, of which she had so ostentatiously proclaimed herself the inexorable minister and guardian. Whether any further correspondence took place between Rome and the Spanish churches we are not informed. The papal decision was, we are given to understand, transmitted to the Spaniards by one Trajanus; but whether as commissioned "executor" of the pontifical mandate, or as a simple messenger, does not very clearly appear. History affords no information as to the sequel of these transactions.[p]

Character of the rescript.

[m] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 790.

[n] The ivth canon, which enacts that all bishops shall be elected by the comprovincials, and be confirmed by the metropolitan of the province. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 323. Conf. Book I. c. viii. p. 190.

[o] Conf. Book II. c. v. p. 410.

[p] *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccl. tom. xvi. p. 49.

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH AND STATE AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Subjects of the chapter stated. I. Recapitulation: 1. The cathedra Petri — 2. Primitive church-government—3. Changes in church-government towards the close of the third century — 4. Ecclesiastical oligarchy — 5. Civil jurisdiction of the bishops — 6. Corresponding distribution of the civil and ecclesiastical powers — 7. The spiritual and the political titles to ecclesiastical power — 8. General idea of the chair of Peter—9. Roman view of the Petrine prerogative —10. Growth of Roman prerogative—11. Nurture of the Roman prerogative— 12. Leo the Great advances the prerogative—13. Canonical basis of the prerogative — 14. Obstacles and opposition, &c. — Legal character of the Petrine prerogative, &c. — Modes of treatment of the prerogative by writers, &c. II. Church-polity at the close of the fifth century; "Privilegia ecclesiæ:" 1. The "episcopalis audientia;" Constitution of the ecclesiastical judicature; Encroachments, reforms, &c.—2. Right of "intercession" or "intervention"— 3. Right of asylum—4. Capacity to receive devises and bequests—5. Exemption from "munera publica," &c.—License to trade, &c.—General privilege of the churches of Rome and Constantinople — Management of the Church estate — "Œconomi" or land-stewards of Church estate. III. Barbaric invasions: Dismemberment of the western empire—Odovaker king of Italy—Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths conquers Italy — Government of Theodoric — Antagonism of Church and State in Italy—Clovis—Downfall of the Visigothic power in Gaul—The kingdom of Burgundy—Establishment of the Frankish power— Causes of the growth of Frankish power—Conclusion.

Subjects of this chapter.

Pope Hilarus died in the year 467, and was succeeded by Simplicius, a native of Tivoli. This pontiff occupied the chair of Rome for a period of rather more than fifteen years;[a] an era which assumes a greater importance in our eyes than perhaps it is entitled to from the real magnitude of the catastrophe by which it is characterised. The downfall, or rather the discontinuance of the form of a Roman empire of the West

[a] *Ciacone* (tom. i. p. 319) gives the year 469 as that of the accession of Simplicius. The ordinary chronology names the preceding year.

produced little change in the condition of the people still subject to its nominal rulers. To the Church the results were of higher moment, for they put an end to her alliance with the State, and operated a total revolution in their relative position. With a view, therefore, to the clearer apprehension of this new state of things, it will be expedient, *first*, to recapitulate shortly the steps by which the complex scheme of the great Latin patriarchate arrived at the stage of power and expansion in which we find it at this critical period of its existence: *secondly*, to take a survey of those legal privileges and prerogatives by which the basis of the Church was placed in safety out of the reach of the hurricane which swept away the State: and *lastly*, to offer a short synoptical view of that revolution itself in its connection with the interests of the Roman pontificate.

I. 1. In the earlier chapters of our first Book the beginnings of the great myth of the cathedra Petri have been traced through the obscure traditions of the second, third, and fourth centuries. We have found that the belief that St. Peter had at some period of his life visited and officiated at Rome and in the West, though in no instance positively stated by any eye-witness, and only incidentally alluded to in the reports of the fourth century—reports derived from writings of doubtful credibility—was nevertheless very widely diffused and very generally entertained by the western churches: and that before the close of the second century St. Peter was not believed to have exercised any power or jurisdiction in Rome or elsewhere differing from that exercised by St. Paul or any other apostle; that is, that up to that period certainly—if not to a much later point of time—he was not regarded as a *bishop* in the sense in which that office was then and afterwards understood.[b]

Recapitulation. 1. The cathedra Petri.

2. We have seen reason to believe that at the close of the second century the Christian association was of a strictly voluntary and spiritual character, differing from political associations therein, that

2. Primitive church-government.

[b] See chapters i. to iv. of the first Book.

it put forth no claim to coercive or penal jurisdiction over irregular or refractory members. It was also observed, that the apostles had, indeed, sent forth preachers and ministers of the gospel, under the names of elders and overseers, and that they had associated with them deacons to administer to the temporal wants of the congregations and their teachers; but that all these ministers were not in the first instance stationary officers; that no particular city or district was definitively assigned to them for their residence; nor that any properly constitutional form was prescribed for the future management of the several associations over which they presided: that, in short, as far as authentic testimony will carry us, the scheme of primitive church-management was simply inchoate and preparatory; consequently open to all changes which the variable wants and expediencies of the future might suggest.

But on this topic we noticed that, probably before the death of the apostle John, many or most of these teachers and preachers of the gospel had settled in, and become stationary ministers in, the larger and more populous cities of the empire; and that in districts where several ministers were so domiciled, and wherever the congregations were numerous, it had been found necessary that one of that number should be chosen to superintend the conduct both of teachers and members; and the office was accordingly intrusted to a presiding elder or *overseer*, whose duty it was to unite and direct the efforts of all for the maintenance and propagation of the religion of Christ by the various methods of advice, censure, exhortation, and example: but we found no reason to believe that this arrangement, however expedient and beneficial in itself, was intended to be a matter of religious obligation upon all churches; or that the inspired legislators ever invested it with that divine and immutable character which belonged to the ordinances of the Mosaic dispensation. Further than this, we did not find any firm historical ground to believe that within the two first centuries the institution of the episcopate had been universally adopted; or that, where it existed, the bishop

possessed any well-defined organic power or control over the presbytery and the diaconate: we thought it, on the contrary, far more probable that he acted only by the advice of the elders in full view of the congregation, and with the sanction of the body of believers composing the church: but that, with all this, wherever a bishop existed, it was held that his concurrence was essential to the validity of all measures of spiritual or temporal concernment; although his title to the office rested solely upon his fitness for the duty cast upon him, and not upon any supposed inherent sanctity conferred by the act of ordination.

3. Changes in church-government at the close of the third century.

3. But in the third century we detected important changes in progress in almost all these respects. The church-associations had begun to assume a *corporate character*, taking to themselves in that capacity the whole divinity of the object they were intended to promote. The same observation applies, perhaps still more strongly, to the aggregate association of all these distinct bodies, which had by this time become known by the title of the *Church-universal*. But this idea of "the Church," though generally cherished in the Christian mind, had not yet found space and opportunity fully to unfold itself. The third century passed away amid internal and external disturbances which left little leisure for reducing the general ecclesiastical constitution to any maturer systematic form. But when, at the close of that period, the community had become conscious of its own importance as an element of political society—when its numbers and its influence among all classes of men had so greatly increased as to fix upon it the hopes or the fears of the rulers of the world—a change in its own internal polity became inevitable. The Christian body had passed in every material respect unscathed through the fierce ordeal of the Diocletian persecution; the last formidable assault of heathenism had been triumphantly repelled; and the Church appeared at once upon the political stage as a self-existent state within the State—lifted, as it were, to the level of the civil government; as an enemy invincible; as an ally invaluable.

4. Church-constitution an oligarchy.

4. At the period when Constantine the Great established Christianity as the religion of the state and court, we found that the influence of the laity in the government of the churches was fast disappearing; that the simple congregational form had given way to a scheme of an oligarchical character; that certain positive rules and ordinances had superseded the primitive congregational management; and that in lieu of that form the bishop had stepped in in the character of representative and depository of all ecclesiastical power within the diocese, district, or city over which he presided; that, in short, the association had lost that voluntary and purely spiritual character impressed upon it by the apostles and their primitive emissaries; and that even before the Church became allied with the State, she had assumed, in her individual members, many of the autocratic forms of the civil government with which she ultimately became united. Then followed the almost total elimination of popular suffrage in the election of ecclesiastical officers, except in those cases where it assumed the character of sedition and tumult, or was conceded with a view to intimidation and party purposes.

5. Civil jurisdiction conceded to the bishops.

5. The bishop, as the acknowledged spiritual judge, had by this time acquired, as it were of *divine right*, a civil jurisdiction of his own. Upon the strength of his representative character he had taken to himself the powers of Christ, who as "priest and king" was exalted above all earthly tribunals—therefore also his vicar the bishop. This jurisdiction was—as we shall presently show—to a great extent admitted by the state; and thus the terms of the alliance were made to include—besides the exclusive spiritual government—a large share in the administration of public justice both in the civil and criminal causes.

6. Coincidence in the distribution of civil and ecclesiastical powers.

6. Within the ante-Nicene period, the Church in her corporate capacity had assumed a more regular organic form. The dogma of the "unity of the faith" was at first symbolised, and at length literally expressed, by a system

of customary subordination of the lesser churches to the greater. The prelates of capital cities had acquired an acknowledged control over the bishops of the minor civil divisions of the empire; and the originally voluntary attachment of those churches to the presidents of the more numerous and powerful bodies had by degrees grown into an habitual subordination, closely resembling that of the provincial towns and municipalities to the governors of dioceses and provinces in the civil state. In fact, it is found that the distribution of ecclesiastical powers had followed closely that of the offices of civil government; and this distribution incidentally fell in with the opinion which assigned to the so-called apostolical foundations a higher degree of spiritual authority than other churches; thus Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and some others, all of them great diocesan or provincial capitals, enjoyed at the same time spiritual privileges believed to be *de jure* attached to churches instituted by an apostle of Christ in person.

7. The introduction of Constantinople into the catalogue of patriarchal or eparchal churches tended to alter in some degree the form of the combination, and to give a certain preponderance to the civil over the spiritual title to ecclesiastical power which shocked the prejudices of the more ancient church-constituency. Constantinople could allege neither antiquity nor apostolicity in favour of the rank in the hierarchy to which she was exalted; and had therefore from the beginning to contend against that current of ecclesiastical prepossession which set so strongly against a spiritual prerogative derivable from purely political grant. But the second general council of the Church, held under the patronage of Theodosius the Great, had assigned to the eastern capital an equality of spiritual and temporal privileges with Old Rome, without any apparent contradiction or protest on the part of the latter, or of any other reputedly apostolical patriarchate. Seventy years afterwards the great council of Chalcedon had solemnly confirmed the grant, thereby placing the political title to ecclesiastical power upon a level with the

7. The spiritual against the political title to ecclesiastical power.

title by spiritual descent.[c] This attribution was felt by Rome as a direct practical contradiction to the alleged prerogative of St. Peter's chair; Leo the Great exposed the inconsistency with vigour and effect, if not with success; and thereby placed his opponents at serious disadvantage in the minds of many religious men of that and the future ages.

8. General idea of the chair of Peter.

8. The reader will have observed that within the four first centuries after Christ the dogma of the "unity of outward representation" had acquired not merely a material and visible, but also a *sacramental* character; through that visible and sacramental unity alone could the benefits of the covenant be conveyed to the particular member of the body, whether it were in the shape of ecclesiastical authority to the minister, or of saving grace to the individual Christian. In this view the Catholic body was the only channel of all spiritual graces; and union with that body was not only the means of obtaining those graces, but an indispensable condition of salvation; but, as a visible body, a *head* or *centre of union* appeared to be requisite both for its identification and stability; the theory of the chair of Peter recommended itself by supplying the needful rallying point; and it seems clear that for some length of time prior to the pontificate of pope Leo the Great that theory had been in some general sense either expressly or tacitly accepted by the western churches, and—as it might serve their turn—by a minority among the oriental divines. But though Rome might have been thus acknowledged as the veritable chair of Peter, yet the amount, and even the nature of the preeminence claimable under it was not yet the subject of perspicuous or conscientious belief.

9. In the earlier stages of its progress we were led to believe that the preeminence in question was confined to a purely *symbolical representation* of that sacramental

[c] It should be remembered that by the term "political title" or "grant" is here meant, not a title or grant proceeding directly from the political power, but a title or grant *based upon political grounds*—*e. g.* the greatness of the city, its being the capital of the empire, the seat of government, the residence of the emperor, the most populous and most magnificent city of the empire, &c.

union upon which the Church-catholic was supposed to be founded or cemented; a view which implied neither power nor jurisdiction, nor even superiority of corporate rank in the see of Rome, which could be distinguished from the accidental advantages of political station and religious merit. Yet it was much in the natural course of things that Rome herself should have arrived at a different estimate of her own position; that she should have assumed in her intercourse with the sister sees a tone of superiority and command; that she should be encouraged to set up her own particular rules of faith and discipline as laws of universal obligation; that she should of her own authority have excommunicated whole sections of the Christian body for differing with her, though it were on formal and unessential points only; that she should have encouraged the subjects of other churches to resort to her, in preference to their domestic pastors, as judge or arbiter in the last resort upon all matters touching the outward forms, as well as the substance, of religious faith, of sufficient interest to engage her attention.

9. Roman view of the prerogative of St. Peter's chair.

10. By these assumptions Rome had in a great degree succeeded in changing the idea of a symbolical representation into that of a subsisting visible reality; and it may be said that the opinions of many of the leading divines of the western churches towards the beginning of the fifth century had already invested the see of Rome with the attribute of an absolute *personal* representation of the whole power and principality believed to reside in the apostle Peter; and this in such wise that in his church the visible unity of the apostolic authority must be held to subsist wholly and exclusively. By this theory, therefore, that primacy which had been originally regarded as the *spiritual type* of catholic communion was corporealised and transformed into a *visibly existing power*; there could now be no "communion of saints" but in union with Rome, or—which is the same thing—in subjection to her; and that article of the Catholic creed was thus conditioned upon allegiance to the chair of Peter.

10. Growth of Roman prerogative in the West.

11. Nurture of the Roman prerogative.

11. The means by which this state of opinion had been brought to pass are plain in every page of the history of the Roman pontificate. By steadfast, persevering, and incessant claim, the pontiffs had wrought with equal success upon the rulers and the subjects of the western division of the Roman world. Thus all men had been accustomed to hear them described as the divinely appointed moderators and judges of all spiritual questions, suits, and controversies; and in that character they had frequently seen them act. An imperial law had proclaimed the pope of Rome the spiritual director and governor of the world; and the Church had, by and through him, been admitted to that proud equality which left no lawful ground for, and would best extinguish all thought of, resistance to his supreme authority. By that concentration of power which was in that age almost inseparably bound up with every idea of government, the pontiff of Rome was held to represent the whole Church in the same sense and manner as the emperor represented the whole State; so that when the terms of the alliance came to receive their practical exposition the bishop of the metropolis stood before both the monarch and the subject in the character of "supreme director and ruler" in things spiritual, as was the emperor in things temporal. The incessant claim, therefore, put forward, the frequent interferences tolerated or solicited by the provincial prelates, the acts of power accomplished or attempted,—all now appeared as results of a system, as acts of legitimate authority; and men could neither feel nor affect surprise when they beheld the bishop of Rome step forth as the visible autocrat of the great invisible unity of the Church-catholic.

12. Pope Leo the Great advances and defines the prerogative of St. Peter's chair.

12. Pope Leo the Great fostered the prevailing impression regarding the chair of Peter with incomparable skill and effect. He defined the Petrine prerogative with great boldness and precision. He had found that prerogative at his accession sufficiently firmly established to bear the weighty dogmatic superstructure he proposed to erect upon it; he cleverly distinguished

between the *ordinary* and the *extraordinary* powers of his church, leaving the former to outward appearance—and to appearance only—intact in the hands of the general ecclesiastical body, and taking the latter to the chair of Peter without limit or restriction. He was, we believe, in this the dupe of his own theory; he was honestly desirous that this "superabounding power"—as he described it—should be regarded as a special provision for the due maintenance and execution of ecclesiastical law over the whole domain of the Church; and wisely—or conscientiously—left it in doubt in the minds of others, as probably it was in his own, where the supreme legislative power ultimately resided. He abstained from laying down any rule whereby the visitatorial and dispensing faculties, as hitherto exercised, could be distinguished from, or reconciled with, any given principle of general church-legislation. But practically he dealt with councils and synods as simple instruments for the execution of his own prearranged designs; as consultative bodies only, or courts for the registration of edicts emanating from his own arbitrary will. In strict pursuance of this practical view of the powers of the Petrine chair, he maintained that no synodal ordinance could have the force of law without the assent of the holy see; but, as there could be no effectual exercise of the superintending authority of that see without a thorough knowledge of intended measures, he assumed the right to mark out such measures by anticipation, so as at pleasure to restrict the synodal action to them alone, and thus to leave his own hands free to accept or to reject any laws, canons, or regulations exceeding or stopping short of his own preliminary instructions. The self-action hitherto enjoyed by the church-legislatures was thus trammelled and paralysed; the right to put the ecclesiastical authorities in motion was substantially transferred from the Church as a legislative body to the spiritual monarch at Rome; and by force of this virtual repudiation of all legislative control as against the Petrine prerogative, and in virtue of the supreme visitatorial, executive, and dispensing powers included in that

prerogative, the whole government of the Church was swept into the lap of Rome. The scheme, therefore, in its ultimate form—whether we may deem it to have lurked in the whole system of papal government or to have been matured in the mind of pope Leo the Great—was to divest the body of the Church of all but a permissive and ministerial action, and to conclude all substantive authority under the ostensibly exceptional prerogative of St. Peter's chair.

13. Canonical basis of the Roman prerogative fallacious.

13. Although this unlimited prerogative was permitted to pass without public censure or material contradiction on the part of the Church or any section of that body, yet no scrap of any general public act, canon, or decree could be honestly exhibited in its support except such as emanated from papal synods.[d] In his attempt to ground the universal primacy, as he understood and defined it, upon canonical ordinance, pope Leo must either have grossly deceived himself, or he must have calculated largely upon the ignorance and credulity of the world. In neither version—the Greek nor the Latin—of the vi[th] canon of the council of Nicæa does that canon afford any countenance to the primacy claimed under it: the interpolation of the Sardican canons—supposing him to have been deceived by the fraud—does not help his argument. In the year 381 the fathers of Constantinople granted to Old Rome a primacy of honour, a simple social precedence; and even this they grounded, not upon the *spiritual* title alleged by the Roman pontiff, but solely upon the political eminence of the city over which he presided. At Chalcedon, the most numerous, and probably the most respectable, of all the general councils of the Church, we find the whole six hundred and twenty or thirty prelates of the East giving the go-by to the spiritual pedigree, though vociferously urged upon them by the representatives of the pope, and pronouncing the absence of such pedigree to be no impediment to the elevation

[d] It will appear hereafter (if this work should be continued) that the conciliar action of the papal courts was strictly dependent upon the pontifical will: Roman synods were never more than the organs for the publication of the papal ordinances.

of the rival bishop to an equality of station and privilege with Rome and other apostolical and patriarchal prelates.

14. But besides the deficiency of general legislative warrant, the claims of Rome laboured under other disadvantages. (1.) By the political severance of the two divisions of the empire in the year 438, the decree of Valentinian III. could have no legal force in the East, except by the permission of the eastern emperor, which was never granted;[e] nor can it be doubted that any attempt to extend its operation beyond the limits of the West must have been met with disfavour by the court and church of Constantinople; a disfavour clearly apparent in the refusal of both even to meet in council within the territory subject to the religious and political influence of the pope: the court and clergy of the East, though well inclined to follow the pontiff in the dogmatic course proposed, yet recoiled from that foreign pressure which might be brought to bear on their independence when in diminished numbers they should be brought into contact with the devout friends of Rome in the West: and thus, in the last place, the sovereign stood by, and witnessed without disapprobation the erection of a barrier to the encroachments of Rome, which gave such serious umbrage to his spiritual friend and director the pope. Again, (2.) the advance of the Roman prerogative in the East was arrested by the division of the empire between two independent princes: the descendants of Theodosius the Great entertained neither political nor family sympathies for each other; nor was the indifference of the subjects of either division for the welfare of the other less conspicuous than that of their rulers: what occurred in the one excited little attention in the other, and thence the idea of a universal primacy had made all the less impression in the East: the traditions upon which that primacy was built were almost exclusively of western

14. Obstacles and opposition to the claims of Roman supremacy.

[e] The separation took place on the 15th Feb. 438. The decree of Valent. III. is dated the 6th June 445. *Gothof.* Cod. Theodos. vol. vi. Leg. Nov. pp. 2 and 67.

birth, and wherever it is mentioned in the Oriental writings and documents, there is strong reason either to suspect a tampering with those writings, or to ascribe such notices to the language of flattery or compliment so familiar to all classes in the East: and, although the idea of a *representative unity* was as firmly established there as in the West, yet it had made no advance towards that of a *single* personal representation; in the Oriental view it rested still in the whole body of the hierarchy: though, therefore, they might not be disinclined, for the sake of temporary convenience or yielding to temporary pressure, to permit the representation to pass into the hands of Rome—as in their enforced acceptance of the autocratic decisions of pope Leo upon the Eutychian heresy—it had never occurred to them that it could, in virtue of the Petrine prerogative, have been *jure divino* transferred in perpetuity to the see of Rome. (3.) A third impediment to the propagation or rooting of the Roman pretensions in the East lay in the versatility of the Oriental character: there was little cohesion in the Eastern churches among themselves; Constantinople held no such command over them as that enjoyed by Rome over the West; the intervals of union were few and far between; almost all the numerous factions which divided the Eastern world had in turn sued for the support of the popes of Rome in the terms they knew to be most acceptable in that quarter; their applications often teemed with acknowledgments of St. Peter's primacy, its directorial authority, its dominion over the religious conscience, &c.: and, indeed, the hollowness of these professions—the submission of the lips, while the desires and intent of the applicants were limited to the attainment of party triumphs, or to escape from immediate difficulty or danger—did not fail to strike with annoyance and irritation the vigilant pontiffs; hence their inexorable rigour in defining and exacting the conditions of their support—hence their anxiety to extort as many practical and notorious acts of submission as possible—hence their desire to restrict debate, to prescribe the subjects of deliberation, and to hedge round the synodal discretion of the Ori-

entals with barriers which in the end must, they thought, reduce them to that merely conditional and dependent existence inherent in the soul and spirit of papal government. (4.) A last impediment to be adverted to lay in the nature of the connection subsisting between the Church and the State in the East: while in the West the Church stood upon the ground of equal alliance with the State, the Eastern churches were in a great degree dependent upon the monarch and his government. Rome's position at home was indeed secured, but her chances of further extending her dominion depended upon a skilful improvement of those periods of schism and discord by which the normal condition of the Eastern churches was so frequently interrupted or broken up—periods in which the political state was convulsed throughout by religious sedition, attended by civil disturbances, sometimes of the most dangerous kind. From such a transient and precarious state of things, however, it passed human ingenuity to extract any but temporary advantages; it was, in fact, impossible to establish any permanent relation, or to settle any principle of subordination. At the same time there was, in spite of appearances, always a strong undercurrent of opinion, both in Church and State, hostile to foreign interference: the court of Constantinople regarded the Church and church-offices as articles of imperial patronage; the State might, it was feared, be assailed through the Church, and a despotic prince could hardly be expected to endure the incubus of a foreign power exercising a rival influence over the consciences and the conduct of the most important body of his subjects, and through them of all the rest: these tendencies, connected with the looser opinions respecting ecclesiastical pedigree and title in the East, and the habitual jealousy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, must have convinced the papal court of the futility of its attempts to unseat the rival patriarch, or to obtain any legislative recognition of the Petrine prerogative resembling that of Valentinian III. in the West, except it were by taking advantage of some fortuitous concurrence of political events, or some such intolerable misconduct on the part of the churches and

their rulers as should drive the government into the arms of Rome for a chance of domestic peace and tranquillity.

Legal position of the Petrine prerogative at the close of the fifth century.

Upon this retrospect of the state of the papal power at the close of the fifth century, it remains only to observe in general, that in respect of all the points of that prerogative hitherto advanced by the pontiffs of Rome, all had been claimed; all had been exercised; none had been dogmatically or authoritatively contradicted: on the other hand, all had been frequently and practically resisted, and none had been affirmed by any legislative act of the Christian world; the proof, therefore, of the right and title of the papacy to exercise these powers must rest upon the strength of tacit admissions, individual professions, and incidental acknowledgments given under circumstances of more or less spontaneity or coercion. This kind of evidence is—as such evidence must be—defective in two essential particulars: it is wanting in that uniformity of observance requisite to establish a title by *custom;* and it is insufficient to show that the observances or acts of submission relied upon flowed from a deliberate sense of legal obligation and a full knowledge of the alleged facts out of which that obligation is supposed to arise. Yet it should be observed that, even if the evidence from submission and observance had been uniform and uninterrupted—even if it could be shown beyond doubt that such conduct proceeded from a deliberate sense of duty and a steadfast faith in the rule of law suggested—yet if the records and proofs produced to substantiate that rule be found fallacious or defective, the practice founded upon it cannot be withdrawn from the catalogue of those enduring delusions by which the world has been from time to time afflicted or subdued.

Modes of treatment adopted in regard to the Petrine prerogative.

It will be perceived that in this delineation of the advances of the Roman papacy the strictly theological point of view has fallen out of our consideration. The dogmatic exposition of the remarkable address of our Lord to St. Peter, as applied to the bishop of Rome, is not properly

the subject of historical proof; inasmuch as, even though it be granted both that St. Peter was bishop of Rome, and that his successors duly inherited all the powers he himself may be believed to have derived from that address, yet nothing is gained for the Roman pontificate until it be clearly shown that such powers were identical with those *invariably* claimed and exercised by the successive bishops of Rome. This question we gladly leave in the hands of the theologians on both sides, with such helps as the facts which history discloses may afford. We presume, indeed, to think that the question of the right divine of St. Peter's chair cannot be discussed irrespectively of those facts—that we cannot treat it as an established truth, of which those facts are the bare exponents. Historically considered, *all the incidents* of the alleged prerogative must, we think, be regarded as matter of *claim*, to be substantiated by the like evidence with that by which any other worldly title must be tried; and we have therefore endeavoured to present to the reader as clear an estimate of the value of the proofs alleged in support of it as existing documents enable us to produce.[f]

II. Church-polity at the close of the fifth century.

II. We have now to consider these claims as they stood at the close of the fifth century, and in their connection with the element from which they drew the breath of life, namely, the constitution of the Church as a political body. The object of this inquiry, as shortly stated in the first page of this chapter, is, if possible, to bring home to the mind of the reader the circumstances which severed the church of Rome from her connection with the State, not only without injury, but with positive advantage to her ecclesi-

[f] It may be observed, that the pontifical historians generally adopt the reverse of this course; they take their stand upon the Roman exposition of the "Tu es Petrus," &c., and treat the facts as *confirmatory* testimony only: a method which in a great degree leaves them at liberty to pass over or give a turn of their own to the adverse facts which meet them at every step. In the great work of Cardinal Baronius this method is uniformly pursued; the same may be said of the more profound work of Bellarmine (De Pont. Rom.); but the latter conceals the sophism with greater skill. All the advocates of the papal claims, almost without exception, mix up the dogmatical and the historical question so as to produce such a confusion of the whole matter, that few readers can find their way out of the labyrinth; and when they think they have grasped the whole subject, they find that they have only been chasing an *ignis fatuus*. Conf. Book I. c. i. p. 11 ad calcem.

astical position. We desire to understand how it happened that the ruin of the political state did not draw after it that of the church, whose constitution had been, as it were, taken into and embodied with that of the fallen state. How, we ask, did it happen that both did not fall together?—that the reverse of this occurred,—that the active influence of the see of Rome appeared to acquire new strength and vigour from the decay and overthrow of that political support upon which it seemed to lean? We believe that the state of church-polity during the decline, and at the epoch of the downfall of the empire of the West, will go far to explain this remarkable result.

The "privilegia ecclesiæ"—πολιτεία ἐκκλησιαστική.

The Christian association had, from the date of its legal establishment, enjoyed great political privileges, in the shape of immunities, exemptions, rights of self-government, juridical powers, &c. in respect of which it may be regarded and treated as a *political association;* and in that light we believe it to have been considered by its first patron, Constantine the Great. That prince cast his eye upon the powerful Christian body as a mighty instrument for attaching his subjects to his throne by the bond of religious union. In the Church he perceived a young and vigorous life—a power which had grown up in perfect independence—a fortress on which all the assaults of his predecessors had been expended in vain; and he treated with that body as with a self-existent power; so that the very terms of the compact struck between them comprehended a full assurance of all the laws, customs, endowments, possessions, and jurisdictions actually possessed or enjoyed by the Church, or which she should thereafter legally acquire. To these rights and immunities a collective legal name and description was applied; in the West they were known as the "privileges of the Church," and in the East by that of the "ecclesiastical polity."[g] To this polity the imperial government always paid the highest respect; and often declared that the State was more deeply indebted to the legal protection afforded to

[g] "Privilegia ecclesiæ" and the πολιτεία ἐκκλησιαστική.

"religion and faith" than to all the efforts, the sweat, the labour of their subjects. In their estimate Christianity was identified with the law that supported it. Their religion was a political instrument, to be used in the same way, and to be kept in working order by the same means, as the secular state.[h] But this conception of the ecclesiastical polity was applicable only to the external government of the Church and the conditions of its alliance with the State; it included no right of interference with its internal concerns, nor with its external operation, beyond what was requisite to secure that support which the State had bargained for in return for its alliance and protection. The Church was, in fact, left at liberty to cherish that proud consciousness of its own independent birth and origin which had hitherto sustained it through a succession of outward trials and calamities such as must have shattered to fragments any scheme endowed with a less vigorous moral vitality.

1. The most important article of the "ecclesiastical polity"—that which may be regarded as the stamp of the independence of the Church—is to be found in the series of ordinances which prohibit appeals to lay authority in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes. In all such matters the synodal and episcopal courts constituted an irresponsible judicature, to the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the lay judges. The subjects of that judicature embraced the whole domain of church doctrine and discipline, the punishment of spiritual offences, and the settlement of all litigations and disputes between spiritual persons in ecclesiastical causes of action.[i] It has

1. The "episcopalis audientia."

[h] *Godefroy* (Cod. Theodos. tom. vi.; Novell. p. 49) accurately distinguishes the sense in which the Roman lawyers use the terms "religio" and "fides" from the religious or ecclesiastical meaning. The emperor Constantius declared that the whole state was more effectually protected by "religion" than by all the services, labours, and sweat of the subject; and he added, that it had always been his anxious desire to rejoice in, and to exalt himself by, the "faith." *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. l. 16. The "religio" and the "fides" are the collective designation of the whole body of law and privilege, as applied to the clerical estate and its political constitution, that is, to the "ecclesiastical polity" in general. See also the declaration of Valentinian III. to the præfect Aëtius, c iv. p. 353 of this Book: also preface to the "mandata integra" of Honorius and Theodosius addressed to the African churches in *Cod. Theod.* tit. xi. de Religione, tom. vi. p. 336: also preface to the novel of Theodos. and Valent. de Judæis, Samaritanis, &c. inter Novellis, l. m. c. p. 9.

[i] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. de Religione, l. 1; and ibid. de Episcop. ll. 23,

been observed, that among the circumstances that contributed most to strengthen the hands of the Christian ministry, there was none more effectual than the habit of referring all civil disputes between Christian parties to the arbitrament of their pastors.[j] The reason upon which this practice was founded ceased ostensibly when the State became Christian; the scandal of going to law before the heathen could no longer be raised, for there was no heathen tribunal to appeal to. But by the time that Christianity had become the religion of the empire, the judicial power was found registered high among the customary prerogatives of the clergy, and was consequently included in the conditions of union and alliance with the State. Ordinances were therefore issued to give a legal standing to the courts of civil arbitration belonging to the bishops in suits between Christian parties. It was, however, originally intended that these courts should still retain their voluntary character, and therefore their jurisdiction was restricted to causes in which both parties should by deed of submission agree to refer their plaint to the bishop's court with power to him to make a final award.[k]

Constitution of the ecclesiastical judicature.

But there was a large class of cases to which such option did not apply; and in which the difficulty of distinguishing between causes referable to the temporal and those admitted to belong exclusively to the ecclesiastical courts was such as to perplex both the courts and the parties as to the proper tribunal: again, a difficulty arose from the quality of the suitors themselves, who might be either both laymen, or both ecclesiastics, or laymen opposed to churchmen. A variety of laws appears in the Theodosian and Justinian codes enacted with a view to obviate these difficulties, the general effect of which may be thus described:

41. The lex 12 of this latter title seems to exempt the bishops from the jurisdiction of the lay courts in all causes, as well civil as criminal. But see the Comm. of *Godefroy*, tom. vi. p. 42

[j] See Book I. c. vii. p. 160.

[k] See the novel of Valent. III. A.D. 452 as to references "ex consensu" and "compromisso interposito." Compare the antecedent laws of Constantius and Honorius, in *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. de Episcopis, ll. 12, 23, and 41, tom. vi. pp. 41, 57, and 89.

(1.) All matters *purely ecclesiastical*, such as heresy, breach of the canons, contempt of discipline, *not involving crimes against the civil law* of the State, were cognisable exclusively by the ecclesiastical tribunals, *i.e.* by the bishop or the metropolitan in his synod or council.[l]

(2.) If the ecclesiastical offence should happen to involve also *a serious breach of secular law*, the criminal action arising out of it must be adjudicated by the civil tribunals; yet without depriving the ecclesiastical court of its jurisdiction as far as in any such case it might have power to inflict spiritual censures or penalties.[m]

(3.) But in the cases in which clerical offences involved such civil delinquencies as in contemplation of law fell under the description of minor offences (*leviora delicta*), the offender was handed over to his spiritual superior; that is, the civil offence was in the case of a clerk allowed to merge in the spiritual crime; and inasmuch as all breaches of moral duty were of themselves ecclesiastical offences, whether they amounted to civil crimes or not, all clerical delinquencies, excepting only such as involved crimes *pessimi exempli*, were, in conformity with the independent character of the church-judicature, abandoned to the spiritual courts.[n]

(4.) But the exemption of the clergy from civil responsibility did not extend to any of the greater crimes (*graviora delicta*) against the public laws.

(5.) Neither were they exempt from the ordinary courts in civil and pecuniary actions by or against laymen. Where both parties were clerks, the canons, indeed, required them to carry their disputes before the bishop and his council; but if either party was a layman, he was at liberty to choose his own court; that is, he might either carry his adversary before the lay-judge, or by

[l] See *Gothof.* Comm. in Cod. Theod. l. 23, tom. vi pp. 58, 59. Conf. *Ambros.* Epistol. 32, as quoted by *Bingham*, Eccles Antiq. vol. ii. p. 18; also *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. de Episcop Judic. tom. vi. p. 348; also *ibid.* tit. de Relig. l. 1, p. 313.

[m] So I venture to construe the last clause of the decree of Valentinian I. and Gratian in *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. de Episcop. l. 23, "Exceptis quæ actio criminalis. &c."

[n] See *Gothof.* Comm. in l. 23, ubi sup. pp. 58, 59. Conf *Bingham*, Eccles. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 21. These "graver offences" (graviora or atrocia delicta) seem to have been the following: treason, murder, rebellion, robbery, swindling, surreptitious legacy-hunting, and the like.

deed of submission (*compromisso interposito*) transfer it to the episcopal bench.[o]

(6.) At the period to which this summary of the privileges of the Church applies, *no order of clergy* was exempt from the operation of these rules; that is, bishops of all ranks, equally with the inferior clergy, were amenable to the civil tribunals in all but the excepted cases above enumerated.[p]

Encroachments and reforms, &c.

It appears, therefore, clearly enough that the government adhered with great fidelity to the terms of its compact with the Church; and that it systematically avoided all unnecessary interference with the ecclesiastical constitution as established by the practice of preceding centuries. Yet the remarkable novel of Valentinian III. (A.D. 452), promulgated only seven years after the all-important edict of 445 in favour of the papal power, plainly indicates that in that interval the necessity of reviewing the existing laws for regulating the episcopal judicatures was deeply felt by the State. It may fairly be taken for granted that this law was called for by a marked tendency in the bishops' courts to overstep their traditional limits, and that an express legislative definition of their powers had become necessary. The edict recites in the broadest terms that, by the *existing laws*, neither bishops nor presbyters could hold any courts, or take cognisance of any actions, "except such as concerned religion," that is, causes which touched either the doctrine, discipline, or constitution of the Church; in all other respects it subjects the highest as the lowest ecclesiastical persons to the same rules as those which govern the causes,

[o] See the canons quoted by *Bingham*, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 6, and conf. Novel. Valent. III. ubi sup. p. 127.

[p] "Quam formam etiam circa *episcoporum* personam observari censemus," &c. See Novel. Valent. III. ubi sup. The canonists—Baronius in particular (ad Ann. 452)—pour out the torrent of their wrath upon this law. The cardinal relies upon the xii^th^ law of the tit. de Episcopis of the Theodosian code (ubi sup. p. 41); and calls in to his aid the impudent forgery appended to that code in some Mss. entitled "de episcopali judicio," imputed to Constantine the Great. This "extravagant," as it is called, attributes boundless jurisdiction to the bishop's court; it not only takes no notice of the "compromissum," or deed of submission, but authorises the transfer of any cause, at any stage of it, by the mere act of either party, to the episcopal forum. Conf. *Gothof.* Comm. ad Cod. Theodos. tom. vi. pp. 349, 350.

civil or criminal, of the laity.[q] A single privilege was granted to the bishops, from regard to their dignity; they were permitted to defend themselves against the heavier or reserved criminal charges (*graviora delicta*) by procurators solemnly nominated and allowed by the court which was to try them, in order to save the scandal of the public exhibition of a prelate of the Church standing as a criminal at the bar of justice; but in no other respect was any favour to be shown, or any distinction to be made between bishops or presbyters and ordinary delinquents.

2. Right of "intercession" or "intervention."

2. A *second* privilege of great importance to the dignity and estimation of the episcopate was the *right of intercession*, or, as it is sometimes called, of *intervention*. It had been a custom, dating probably from the establishment of Christianity, for ecclesiastics of rank and reputation to have the privilege of direct access to the emperor, or other high official personage, judge, or minister of the law, with a view to cause inquiry to be made into cases of alleged oppression, perversion of justice, or other official misconduct productive of public or private wrong. This right of intercession was not merely permissive, but was regarded as a solemn duty on the part of the qualified persons, and to be religiously respected by the lay authorities, for the protection of innocence, or, as the law expresses it, "for the interests of humanity,"[r] and with a view that thereby salutary delays might be interposed between the passing of a hasty or unjust sentence and its execution.[s] St. Augustine urges this deprecatory right as a matter of sacred obligation; and instances of its exercise are not unfrequent in the ecclesiastical writings of this period.[t] Ambrose of Milan resolutely importuned

[q] See the preceding note, "Quam formam," &c.

[r] "Humanitatis ratione," *Cod. Theod.* tit. de Pœnis, lib. ix. l. 16, tom. iii. p. 337, cum not. *Gothof.* pp. 338, 339. See also *ibid.* l. 15, p. 335. These laws, however, were made rather to put a stop to the abuses of this privilege.

[s] See the remarkable decree of Theodosius the Great, in *Cod. Theodos.* tit. de Pœnis, l. 13, issued—(in consequence of his own detestable cruelty perpetrated upon the inhabitants of Thessalonica)—at the intercession of Ambrose.

[t] *Gothof.* Comm. ad l. 16, tit. de Pœnis, ubi sup. p. 338, quoting August. ep. 34, ad Macedonium (in the Benedictine edition, p. 153). See also the "intercession" of the monk Eutychianus to the emperor Constantine the

the emperor Theodosius the Great for redress to the remnant of the slaughtered inhabitants of Thessalonica, whose relatives and friends he had in his savage fury caused to be butchered by his soldiery.[u] This customary privilege had in fact become the subject of positive legal recognition. A decree of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II. is alleged, which expressly admits and defines this privilege. "We also," says the decree, "grant to the priest the right to enter all prisons for the work of mercy and charity, that he may administer medicine to the sick, food to the poor, and consolation to the distressed; and also in order that he, having thereby made himself acquainted with the case of each prisoner, may effectually, and as of his own right (*suo jure*), put in his *intervention* for redress before the proper officer."[v] But a privilege which invested the clergy with a right of moral inspection over the conduct of the magistrates and officials of the civil government was soon found to produce great practical inconveniences. In the first instance, probably, the right of intervention was confined to bishops and priests; but afterwards not only the inferior clergy, but monks and cenobites, took upon themselves to interfere with the administration of justice, and even to rescue condemned malefactors from legal custody. These irregularities were repressed by several laws directed against riotous intermeddlings with the regular course of justice.[w]

3. Right of asylum.

3. A third privilege of incidental importance to the ecclesiastical body was that of *asylum*. The heathen temples, public altars, and the statues of emperors, had for ages past been regarded as sacred spots and precincts, conferring temporary exemption from pursuit and capture to debtors and criminals amenable to public justice. This privilege had been transferred by

Great for the pardon of one of his domestics who had fallen under his displeasure. *Sozom.* lib. vii. c. xxiii.

[u] See the letters of Ambrose to Theodosius, ap. *Baron.* ad Ann. 388; and his treatise, lib. ii. "Officiorum," c. xxi.

[v] See the collection of imperial rescripts appended to the Theodosian codex by father Sirmond, tom. vi. ad fin. p. 10.

[w] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. de Pœnis, ll. 15 and 16, tom. iii. pp. 336 to 339. Conf. *Neander*, Geschich. &c. vol. ii. p. 302. In lex 16 it is recited that "tanta clericorum et monachorum audacia est, ut bellum potius quam judicium futurum esse existimetur."

custom to the Christian churches; and came opportunely in aid of the right of "intervention," by affording the time necessary for inquiry, and the more effectual exercise of the right. To such asylums runaway slaves might resort against the cruelty of their masters,[x] debtors against the too eager pursuit of irritated creditors, suspected malefactors against hasty or malicious prosecution. Time was thus obtained for the interposition of the spiritual mediator; angry feelings might cool down, an equitable settlement be negotiated, or the funds necessary to discharge a debt, or to compensate an injury, be raised. While restrained within due limits, the right of asylum was no doubt of beneficial operation; but, like that of intervention, it was soon stretched beyond all reasonable bounds. Under pretence of ecclesiastical immunity, or in the name of humanity, not only runaway slaves, public and private debtors, and persons liable to civil and military duties, but offenders of all descriptions, even malefactors under sentence of death, were received and openly entertained within the sacred precincts, and there protected for unlimited periods of time against the legal consequences of their crimes. In some cases even the clergy received these refugees into holy orders, and thereby extended to them the advantages and exemptions enjoyed by churchmen. Theodosius the Great took a first step towards reducing the right within some bounds consistent with the interests of the revenue and the public peace, by prohibiting the detention of public debtors and state criminals within the churches or their precincts.[y] His sons Arcadius and Honorius extended the prohibition to slaves, curiales, public defaulters, and persons who shrank from the intolerable burdens of the *munera publica*—a class to whom the clergy were found too ready to extend the privileges of clergy.[z] With the view to prevent for the

[x] Though, from all we read, Christianity must have greatly bettered the condition of the Roman slave since the age of Pedanus Secundus (see *Tac.* Annal. lib. xvi. cc. xlii. et sqq.), yet there must have yet remained many circumstances in the condition of the bondsman in a slave-state like Rome shocking to the Christian spirit.

[y] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. xiv. ll. 1, 3 (A.D. 398).

[z] It should seem that the emperor Arcadius contemplated the abrogation of the right of asylum as to criminals of all kinds. See the Comm. of *Gothof.* ad Cod. Theodos. ubi sup. l. 4, pp. 399

future the sanguinary disorders which had disgraced the church of Constantinople, the emperor Theodosius the younger (A.D. 431) decreed that no persons with arms in their hands be admitted to asylum; that no one be allowed to take food or to sleep within the church itself; and that if, after reasonable indulgence and admonition by the clergy, they refuse to deliver up their arms, they be driven from the asylum by force, yet always with the *joint consent of the bishop* and the secular judge;[a] and every person invading the sanctuary for the purpose of dragging thence by force any delinquent, other than the armed refugees in question, was declared *guilty of a capital offence*.[b]

4. Right to receive devises and bequests.

4. A *fourth* important privilege enjoyed by the churches was that of receiving in their corporate character testamentary devises and bequests. This privilege was granted by the emperor Constantine the Great; and by manifest implication of law it enrolled them at once among the recognised corporations of the empire.[c] This grant soon produced an abundant harvest of pious gifts, proceeding principally from rich widows and virgins, and from persons in declining health. The bishops and clergy of Rome and Constantinople profited most largely from this source of acquisition.[d] Gregory of Nazianzum says of the bishops of the latter capital, that "in their tables, and in the pomps of dress and retinue, they rivalled the greatest men in the state."[e] The narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus particularises not only the effects of so great an accumulation of wealth, but its causes, and the modes

et sqq. In fact, the churches and their precincts had become the scenes of serious disorder and tumult, in consequence of the crowd of refugees of all sorts who resorted thither for protection against the oppression of the government, and the general decay of the moral character of all classes. See *Socrat.* Hist. Eccl. lib vii. c. xxxiii.

[a] *Cod. Theodos.* ubi sup. tit. "de his qui ad eccles. confugiunt," l. 4 The precincts of the churches are extended to all out-buildings and appurtenances; the prohibition to sleep applies only to the body of the temple itself; that of bearing arms, to every portion of the sacred precinct.

[b] But this law seems to have had effect only in the East. It could not have operated to abrogate the limitations introduced by the laws of Theodosius the Great and Honorius in the West.

[c] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, l. 4, p. 23.

[d] See *Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. c. iii.; and conf. Book I. c. x. p. 225.

[e] *Greg. Nazianz.* Orat. 32.

of acquisition. The check applied by the emperor Valentinian I. to these facilities of gain has been already adverted to.[f] Jerome declared that he regretted not so much that such a law should have been enacted, as that the clergy should have merited so degrading a chastisement.[g] Many of the most worthy prelates, indeed, expressed their aversion for this sordid acquisitiveness. Augustine of Hippo steadily refused to enrich himself or his church by gifts or testamentary bequests which might injure the family interests of the donors, or impoverish their descendants.[h] The endowments bestowed by public or private munificence were supposed to be applicable solely to useful and pious purposes,—to the maintenance of the poor, the repairs of the church-buildings, the expenses of divine service, the cost of entertaining the stranger, relieving the orphan, the lame, the sick, the aged, and the blind. The charge of all these duties, if properly performed, was considered such as to absorb the whole revenue, and to engage the whole time and attention of the clergy.

5. The better to enable them to perform these duties, the clergy enjoyed a total exemption from all those burdensome public offices (*munera publica*) to which all subjects qualified by the requisite amount of property were liable. These offices, in the reign of Constantine the Great, had degenerated into a mere device for sweeping private fortunes into the imperial treasury.[i] From all these burdens the ecclesiastics, as well as the churches and their endowments, were absolutely discharged; and thus a sense of personal security and corporate independence was infused into the Church and its servants which was

5. Exemption from the "munera publica" and "sordida."

[f] Book I. c. x. pp. 227, 228.

[g] Ep. ad Nepotianum, ep. 32. Conf. Ep. ad Eustochium, ep. 22. See also *Sulp. Sever.* Sac. Hist. lib. i. "Tanta hoc tempore animo eorum (clericorum) habendæ cupido veluti tabes incessit; inhiant possessionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, emunt venduntque; quæstui per omnia student; at si mitioris propositi videatur, neque (sint) possidentes neque negociantes, quod est multo turpius, sedentes munera expectant; atque omne vitæ decus mercede corruptum habent, dum quasi *venalem* sanctitatem præferunt." So also Jerome to Nepotian: "Negociatorem clericum, et ex inope divitem, ex ignobili gloriosum, quasi quendam pestem fuge."

[h] *Poseidonius* in Vit. Augustin. c. xxiv.

[i] See *Cod. Theodos.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. ll. 1, 2, and 7, dating respectively in the years 313, 319, and 330. See also my Hist. of the Germans, c. viii. pp. 308 to 312.

felt by no other class of subjects. So also with respect to the *munera sordida*, or compulsory personal services incumbent upon the lower and less opulent classes, such as the keeping in repair the highways and bridges, entertaining imperial messengers, expediting couriers, carrying and delivering public stores or treasure, together with a great variety of minor duties,—from all these every rank and condition of clergy was absolutely discharged.[j] By the laws of Constantius they were likewise exempted from some personal or capitation taxes;[k] and they were permitted to employ themselves in certain lucrative occupations, provided it was solely for their personal maintenance, or for the benefit of the poor, and not for the accumulation of private wealth. And upon this understanding they were also relieved from the *collatio lustralis*, or tax upon artificers and others for license to carry on their business in public.[l] But the two latter privileges led to so much inconvenience and abuse, that the permission to use trades or gainful occupations of any kind, or for any purpose, was afterwards withdrawn altogether.[m]

License to trade.

Withdrawn.

The motive for these extraordinary grants of privilege was rather political than religious. The imperial autocrats were, from their earliest connection with the Church, awestricken by her lofty posture, and more especially by the independent majesty of the Roman hierarch: they felt that the servile condition of the commonalty was inconsistent with the dignity of ministers of the Church; and indeed, unless emancipated from that Egyptian bondage—that intolerable weight of fiscal extortion and social degradation which was gradually converting every remaining province and dependency of the empire into a desert, and the inhabitants into a rabble of abject, spiritless, and defenceless paupers, they could have

Privileges and influence of the churches of Rome and Constantinople.

[j] *Cod. Theod.* lib. xi. t. xvi. *Gothof.* Paratitlon, tom. iv. p. 116. See the enumeration of these duties at p. 136 of the same vol.

[k] *Ib.* ll. 8, 10, 14.

[l] *Ibid.* l. 8, of the year 343. But it does not appear that the clergy were exempt from the "tributum," or great land-tax, for their real estate. The synod of Ariminum of the year 357 made an attempt to procure this exemption, but were repelled by Constantius. Conf. *ibid.* l. 15, p. 46.

[m] *Novel. Valentin.* App. ad Cod. Theodos. p. 150.

rendered no service to the State-government. But from the age of Constantine the Great that government had, in fact, accustomed itself to lean upon the youthful and vigorous establishment which had grown up in sturdy independence by its side: it soon became clear to the rulers that the great metropolitan churches of Rome and Constantinople were the proper instruments by and through which the tottering State might, consistently with its own despotic principle, reap due advantage from the pragmatic union with the Church as a body; and although it does not appear that either of those great churches enjoyed any political franchises peculiar to themselves as governing bodies, yet it is most probable that the highest degree of indulgence or connivance in all respects was extended to them.[n] With reference to the see of Rome, no doubt exists that in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries she had, by the liberality of emperors and empresses, by pious donations, by the forfeitures of the heathen temples, by grant of fines and mulcts for nonconformity, and a variety of other means, acquired a very large territorial revenue. And in this race of acquisition the churches of Old and New Rome appear to have proceeded by nearly equal steps. Thus a certain Crescentius gave a large estate in Sicily, together with all his personalty, to the church of Rome; and one Bossus, who had brought a false charge against bishop Sixtus II., was sent into exile, and his lands were forfeited to the Church. In the same way, the pious empresses Pulcheria and Eudoxia enriched the see of Constantinople. Both bishops lived in sumptuous palaces, and were served upon gold and silver plate; they possessed farms and houses and villas, and had at their disposal carriages and horses and mules, and even slaves.[o] So that, with the exception of tithes, these churches could command almost all the sources of revenue, though perhaps not altogether to the same extent, as they have at any time since enjoyed.[p]

[n] Conf. Not. *Gothof.* ad l. 14, Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. p. 45.

[o] See the authorities collected by the *Cent. Magdeb.* cent. v. p. 746.

[p] *Selden* (on Tithes, c. 20) traces the customary payment of tithes to the fourth century. He quotes a council held at Cologne in the year 356. I find

Management of church-estates.

The churches exercised the same rights over their endowments, and managed the property thus acquired upon the same terms and in the same way, as lay proprietors dealt with their private possessions. It was, indeed, commonly regarded as irreligious and profane to sell or alienate any thing that had once been dedicated to pious uses; and the Gallic churches, at a synod held at Adge in Languedoc in the year 505, strictly prohibited the bishops and presbyters of that province to sell, exchange, or bequeath any thing belonging to their churches; but the Roman and Italian bishops steadily repudiated all limitations upon their right to dispose at pleasure of the landed estate and other property of their churches.[q] They thought that the power of independent dealing with church-estate was a matter which touched the very existence of the Church as a visible body; and, indeed, the whole tendency of sacerdotal opinion clearly went to identify that estate with the whole ecclesiastical constitution, and therefore to place it as far beyond the reach of secular legislation as either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church.[r] This desire to exclude the influence of the

no mention of this council in the Conc. Germ. of *Hartzheim*. That council, he (Selden) says, decreed that tithes should thenceforward be called "Dei census," quasi "God's-rent." He quotes from the very earliest collection of the councils, that of Burchardt bishop of Worms, who died in 1026, and was tutor to the emperor Conrad the Salic. It is true that the Apostolical Constitutions mention tithes as due to the clergy by the law of God (Book I. ch. vi. pp. 149, 150); but the council of Macon, held in the year 585, though it affirms that tithes are due by the law of God, yet observes that they had fallen into disuse, and ought to be restored to the churches. The editors of the Art de Vér. les Dates, vol. i p. 153, say that this was the first council at which tithes are mentioned as a debt due from the laity to the clergy. The earliest mention of tithes in the Germanic councils occurs at the synod of Düren, in the year 779. *Hartzh* Concil. Germ. tom. i. pp. 239, 240. The probability is that they never became a legal burden on property till the latter age. *Hartzheim* gives the opinions of the canonists to that effect in his note upon the viith and xiiith canons of the last-mentioned council.

[q] See the quarrel of Basilius the viceroy of Odoacer with the Roman synod of 483, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 483, p. 420.

[r] The ground for rejecting the interference of the lay government to prevent alienation alleged by the Roman synod of 483 is thus stated: "Quod contra patrum regulas a laicis, quamvis religiosis, quibus nulla de ecclesiasticis facultatibus aliquid disponendi legitur unquam attributa facultas, facta videtur." This language imports a frank denial of the right of the lay-legislature to interfere with or control the application of the "facultates" of the Church. I understand the word "facultas" in this conjunction to mean "power" or "authority"—the "facultates ecclesiasticæ" denote the whole constitution of the Church. The proposition of Eulalius, bishop of Syracuse, in this synod, there-

secular power, and to shake off the trammels of the state-union, becomes more and more apparent with every year of what may be properly called the barbaric period of European history. At the close of the fifth century the Church was not indeed as yet prepared to cast off the protection she might still derive from the policy or the reverence of the barbaric sovereigns who had succeeded to the powers of the Cæsars; but she had, during the whole of that century, been driven by the calamities of the times to devise means of security for herself in the extension of her own temporal influence, and in the more compact organisation of her own polity, which nothing could tend more directly to disturb and enfeeble than the capricious interferences of a government which, like that of the later emperors, possessed no power to afford effectual protection.

Œconomi, or land-stewards, appointed to manage church-estate.

Yet the corrupting familiarity with worldly concerns, and the evils which the disposal and management of wealth so great as that attached to the principal churches brought with it, had not escaped the censure of the graver ecclesiastics. The xxvi[th] canon of the council of Chalcedon directed that bishops should not be allowed personally to administer the estate of their churches, but that that duty should be performed by land-stewards or œconomi.[s] A century before this St. Chrysostom had noticed with sharp rebuke the sordid and worldly spirit which such occupations had introduced among the clergy. "The bishops," he complained, "had fallen to the condition of land-stewards, hucksters, brokers, publicans, and pay-clerks."[t] But the Italian churches made small account either of the canon or of the reason upon which it was founded. They adhered pertinaciously to the ancient mode of administration; thus pope Gelasius, towards the close of this century, in a decretal addressed to the bishops of Sicily, directs them to take upon themselves the personal management of their own funds, and to collect

fore, denies all power or authority on the part of the State to legislate for the Church either in her political or her spiritual character. See *Baron.* ubi sup. p. 422.

[s] *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 612.

[t] *Chrys.* Conc. 86 in Matth.

their own revenues; and he reminded them that the authority of his prelates extended to the unrestricted disposal of those funds, provided only that a proper share were set apart for widows and orphans, and for the payment of the stipends of the clergy: as to the residue, it should remain at the bishop's disposal, for the maintenance of strangers, the release of captives, and other works of charity.[u]

III. Barbaric invasions.

III. The object proposed in the foregoing survey of the privileges of the churches, more especially those of Western Christendom, was to explain, as far as the facts would warrant, what it was that enabled the Church, amid the wreck of social and political order, to elude the like fate, and to emerge from the dire convulsions of the times as a self-existent power, when no longer supported by a government having the same original religious and political sympathy with it. It results, we think, clearly enough from this statement that the Church had obtained the fullest recognition of its independent character—its inalienable rights and privileges as a political body coordinate with, rather than subordinate to, the State; and that, in virtue of this constitution, it contained within itself both the needful mechanism of an independent existence, and the spirit to animate and impel it into vigorous action. But the inquiry shows no more than a certain internal aptitude for duration and stability. A strong religious principle implanted in the heart of man may account for the permanence of a particular religious impression through all changes in the external framework of society; but it will not account for the unchangeableness of a given outward form or scheme of religious government, nor for the absence of all dislocation or disturbance in the machinery by which that government is carried on. Yet this was the actual condition of the Roman church-establishment

[u] *Baron.* Ann. 494, § 25, p. 571. Pope Simplicius had previously ordered that the rents and proceeds of the church-estate should be divided into four parts: the *first* to go to the bishop; the *second*, to the clergy; the *third*, to the poor; and that the *fourth* should be applied to the building and repairs of the churches.

in the West of Europe from the beginning to the end of those dreadful convulsions which followed upon the irruption of the barbaric hordes of Germany and Scythia. Our delineation of the progress of the pontifical power would therefore be incomplete, were we to refrain from pointing out the bearing of political events of such magnitude upon the particular organisation of the great politico-religious institution to whose history these pages are devoted.

Dismemberment of the Western Empire.

Considering attentively the history of the downfall of the Roman empire of the West, it strikes us at once that the revolution was not of a nature to sweep away the entire political fabric; that the destruction of the civil state was far from complete; and that, in the first instance at least, many important portions of the political machine not only remained intact, but in tolerable working order. The causes of the decay of the imperial authority in the West have already been shortly adverted to, and the state of dismemberment into which the empire had fallen within the first half of the fifth century has been briefly described.[v] At the death of Valentinian III. in the year 455, the entire provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Noricum, and Pannonia, with the exception of a few isolated districts, had fallen into the hands of Franks, Visigoths, Vandals, Suevi, Alani, Ostragoths, Heruli, Rugians, Longobardi, and many other tribes of pure or mixed Teutonic origin. The great majority of these tribes professed the Arian form of Christianity; the remainder adhered to the rude superstitions of their ancestors. For the protection of the remnant of its ancient dominion the empire possessed no native army; the whole force disposable for that purpose consisting of mercenary hordes, hired from among the erratic swarms which traversed every portion of its late provinces. The chiefs of these adventurers were elevated to the sole command of the armies they had raised, and the feeble emperors virtually abandoned themselves to their direction. Thus Avitus, the successor of Maximus—the assassin of Valentinian—placed himself in the hands of

[v] Book II. c. iii. pp. 322-324.

Richimer, the chief of a Suevic band of mercenaries; and the latter did not hesitate to depose his nominal sovereign as soon as he ceased to be a convenient instrument of his ambition. Richimer successively elevated four phantom emperors—Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, and Olybrius—to the empty dignity. The Burgundian chief Gundobald succeeded Richimer in the command of the armies; and Flavius Glycerius was placed by him upon the throne of the West. But a few months afterwards Gundobald retired into Gaul; Glycerius was deposed, and Leo, emperor of the East, obtained the vain honour of once more nominating an emperor of the West. With the concurrence of the Roman senate, his relative Julius Nepos assumed the purple. This prince fell into the most abject dependence upon the barbaric mercenaries; the Pannonian Orestes was raised to the supreme command of the army; but, soon becoming weary of the vexatious but unsupported interferences of his nominal sovereign, he thrust him from the throne, and nominated his own son Augustulus to the vacant dignity. But Orestes, though the chief of a barbarian soldiery, was a Roman by descent, and, perhaps patriotically, anxious to escape the enormous donatives demanded by his military comrades, and which could not be raised without completing the ruin of the impoverished population of Italy. He paid the penalty of his parsimony with his life, and the Rugian Odovaker became the general of the all-powerful mercenaries. This man had no sympathies or attachments that could stand in the way of his popularity with the troops. He resolved to suppress the imperial title, and thereby to remove an incumbrance at once prejudicial to his own freedom of action, and imposing upon him duties and obligations for ever at variance with the capricious cravings of his own greedy and unruly subjects. Augustulus was therefore deposed, and Odovaker assumed the title of king of Italy.

Odovaker king of Italy.

These incidents bear very little resemblance to *conquest:* they denote a rather domestic revolution, ascribable to the gradual introduction of a foreign element into the state, and favoured by the decay

of every quality in the native race and its rulers which might have turned the balance against the intrusive influence. Odovaker distributed the third of the cultivated lands of Italy among his followers, by way of a rent-charge in favour of the barbarian grantee for his support and stipend. Odovaker's Rugian, Hunnic, and Herulan hordes, amid the incessant warfare which occupied the reign of their chieftain, never had leisure to occupy personally the shares assigned to individuals, even if they had been disposed to settle upon them. Fixed inhabitancy was as yet little familiar to the barbaric races: money-payments were therefore far more agreeable to the stipendiaries than actual occupation, and far less injurious to the payers than the residence of so many domestic oppressors at their own doors. The Rugian prince himself was not disposed wholly to abandon either the fiscal or the administrative policy of the empire; and although he had assumed a title unknown to the laws and habits of the Romans, yet the first public act of his reign was to make approaches to the eastern emperor Zeno in order to obtain the recognition of his authority in a form more palatable to his Roman subjects. His envoys, in the name of the senate and the army, argued before the emperor that Rome no longer required a resident emperor; that a single sovereign now sufficed for both divisions of the empire; that neither the senate nor the army desired any other supreme lord than Zeno himself; and that, awaiting his confirmatory decree, they had adopted as their provisional governor and president Odovaker, a person duly qualified for the conduct of public affairs and the defence of the frontiers. The address concluded with a request that Zeno would be pleased to invest Odovaker with the dignity of the patriciate, and confer upon him the government of the diocese of Italy. After some ceremonious delay the eastern emperor conferred the required powers, and thereby invested the new chief with a legitimate claim to the obedience of Italy and its remaining dependencies.[w]

Odovaker, however, had no intention to become the

[w] Hist. of the Germans, pp. 457-463.

Theodoric king of the Ostragoths conquers Italy.

vassal of a foreign prince in more than the name. He consented to bear the imperial commission with the single view to secure the allegiance of the Italians, and afford them some assurance that their national laws and institutions were safe in his hands. Zeno soon took umbrage at the little attention paid to his commands, and the absence of all sympathy for the interests of his government evinced by Odovaker. In his short-sighted anger he encouraged Theodoric, king of the Ostragothic horde now peaceably settled in Illyricum, to invade the vassal kingdom. In this disposition he conferred on the Gothic prince the fullest powers to possess himself of that country in the name of the empire, and to rule it with the title of king, as the viceroy and lieutenant of the emperor. Theodoric marched into Italy; and after a prolonged resistance of three years, Odovaker was overthrown and put to death. As soon as Theodoric had thus got rid of his formidable adversary, and expelled or destroyed the barbarian hordes that adhered to him, he proceeded to Rome, and took possession of the government, not as a conqueror, but as an officer of the empire: he confirmed all the privileges of the senate, and gained the affections of the citizens by distributions of money and provisions: he repaired the decayed towns and cities of Italy, and took the most prompt and effectual measures for the public defence. He moreover restored the public buildings that had been allowed to fall into decay, and erected others which, we are assured, might vie with the architectural wonders of antiquity. He once more entertained the Romans with the pageant of a triumph; and provided for their periodical amusement by restoring the games of the circus. The indigent classes were conciliated by an annual provision of 120,000 bushels of wheat: considerable sums were expended on the repairs of the public baths, theatres, and other useful or ornamental structures. Theodoric in his own person imitated the dress of the Cæsars; he assumed the surname of Flavius, and in his administration adopted the forms of the imperial government. He caused the old laws to be rigidly observed and impartially dispensed; and strove

by every practicable means to gain the affections of his Italian subjects.

Government of Theodoric.

As under Odovaker the Heruli and other barbaric soldiery, so under Theodoric the Goths, constituted the army of the State, with a distinct nationality, separate laws, dwellings, and occupations. Never mingling with the Italian population, they occupied their own stations on the frontiers, or wherever else military considerations suggested. They were paid and maintained from the same funds as those set apart by the preceding occupants; but a more equitable partition of the tertiæ, or thirds, of the lands adopted by Odovaker gave a more general satisfaction to all parties. In this new state, the Goths formed a privileged military class governed by their own laws; their chief being the sovereign of the whole body of the community. With regard to the native population, the Roman laws and institutions were retained without alteration: the senate, the great officers of state, the præfects of provinces, and other civil appointments, were continued, and, for the most part, administered by native Italians. As heretofore, the courts of justice were presided over by a prætorian præfect; very few, if any, changes took place in the constitutions of the cities of Italy; and, as far as the testimonies of that age enable us to judge, most of the old magistracies were retained without change of function. It was, in short, the policy of Theodoric to show himself to his subjects as little as possible in the light of a conqueror. He identified his authority with that of the empire to which he succeeded: his occupation was not intended to appear as a triumph over Rome or Roman institutions; and in order to deepen the impression of his legal title to the sovereignty, he diligently cultivated the friendship of the eastern emperor; the recognition of the court of Constantinople disposed the Roman subject to regard him as the successor of the Cæsars, and tended to stamp his pretensions with that current value which legitimacy imparts. He acknowledged in modest and respectful terms the exalted prerogative of the emperor, the indivisibility

of the empire, and the derivative nature of all other earthly power. And with this kind of submission the feeble emperor Anastasius was for the present satisfied: Italy was still a constituent member of the empire; Rome was as heretofore the ancient capital; peace was restored to the distressed community; a more equitable distribution of the public burdens was adopted; commerce revived, arts and learning were protected; and Italy, under the government of this wise and vigorous monarch, recovered a portion of her ancient prosperity and splendour.[x]

Antagonism of Church and government.

Though the property of the churches cannot be supposed to have wholly escaped the effects of so many violent revolutions, yet there is every reason to believe that the clergy were not bereft of any considerable part of that permanent interest in the lands which they had hitherto enjoyed. It is certain that every legal privilege they held under the empire was respected by the new government; and that, notwithstanding the antagonism which subsisted between the creed of the conquerors and their own, perfect religious liberty was secured to them. The church of Rome continued at the head of the church-establishment of Italy, with at least as full an authority as she had ever possessed, as far as her own confession extended: but she was now opposed by an heretical hierarchy posted at the very threshold of her dominion—a hierarchy necessarily favoured by the sovereign, and protected by the all-powerful army. Religious animosities were thus kindled in the heart of the monarchy, which gave perpetual uneasiness to the government of Theodoric. The Goths made no secret of their contempt for the feeble and unwarlike Italians; and the latter lost no occasion to testify their dislike of their heretical masters. Thus there was a total absence of every principle of union, political or religious, between the dominant and the subject communities; and Rome,

[x] The authorities for the foregoing summary are chiefly Cassiodorius, Procopius, Ennadius, Gregory of Tours, illustrated by Savigny, Mascou, Luden, and others. See my Hist. of the Germans, pp. 481-487.

so far from running any risk of a division of her resources and authority, found herself at the head of an exasperated religious party embracing the entire native population of the new kingdom. The political sagacity of Theodoric was at no loss to detect the foundation of sand upon which his liberal dominion rested; but his foresight did not extend to the remedy for the evil. The Arians complained loudly of the neglect of the government; the king could not turn a deaf ear to the religious grievances of his own communion; meanwhile the Catholics intrigued with the court of Constantinople to compel the monarch to back their schemes of persecution and exclusion, or to accomplish the overthrow of the Gothic power in Italy. The mind of Theodoric became gradually poisoned by suspicions, and exasperated by the treachery which surrounded him and his warriors on all sides. Towards the close of his reign he departed from the principle of universal toleration, and was upon the point of adopting severe measures for checking the insolent spirit which his unbounded liberality had engendered among the plotting Italians, when his death arrested this new course of policy; once more casting loose the government from the people, and leaving the State in the condition of all others most favourable for the working of the pontifical scheme—that is, in the position of a tyrannous power based on military occupation, and absolutely alien from the habits, institutions, and religion of its subjects.

Downfall of the Visigothic power in Gaul—Clovis.

The two great Gothic monarchies, which comprised the whole of Spain, Italy, and Gaul south of the Loire, were, in fact, grounded upon military success alone; the conquerors had never amalgamated with the native population, and the Visigothic king of Spain and Gaul, Euric, had been driven into a persecuting policy by the religious animosities between his own and the conquered nation, which embittered every relation of society and seriously enfeebled his government. Meanwhile Clovis, the newly-converted king of the Franks, had entered into intimate

communion with Rome and the disaffected subjects of the Gothic states; he lived in perfect intelligence with the Catholic clergy of his own dominions; while the latter —almost all of them native provincial Romans—kept up an uninterrupted communication with the domestic enemies of the Gothic kings. Thus weakened by treachery and disaffection, Alaric II., successor of Euric, fell beneath the vigorous blows of Clovis and the orthodox Franks; and the greatest part of Gaul was again brought within the pale of Roman Christianity.

The kingdom of Burgundy.

The Burgundian kingdom, which comprehended the whole of the ancient Provincia Romana, continued for some time longer under the government of an Arian prince. Gundobald wisely abstained from every measure of severity against his Catholic subjects; he even permitted them to believe him a secret convert to their religious opinions. The hopes of his ultimate conversion withheld the clergy of his kingdom from following the example of the subjects of Alaric, and throwing themselves into the arms of his formidable neighbour, or plunging into those intrigues which had so mainly contributed to the expulsion of the Visigoths. At a later period, indeed, this kingdom was swallowed up in the absorbing power of the Franks; but for the present the Arian opposition of the Burgundians offered no obstacle to the expansion of the spiritual influence of Rome over the whole of the great province so lately the pride and the strength of her secular dominion.[y]

Establishment of the Frankish power under Clovis.

Though the Ostrogothic and Burgundian princes had abstained from persecuting their Catholic subjects, the religious animosities of the people were in no respect mitigated by this tolerant policy. The Roman population of Italy were prepared to avail themselves of every chance of emancipation from the dominion of their heretical sovereigns; the former

[y] During the life of Gundobald the machinations of the Franks remained without result; but after his death in 517 the sons of Clovis overran and put an end to the Burgundian kingdom, after an existence of nearly 120 years.

began once more to look with hope to the eastern emperor, while those of Gaul and Spain regarded Clovis as the chosen instrument of Providence for the triumph of the true faith. All his enterprises, whatever their character or motives, were regarded with an indulgent eye; and thus one of the most cruel, faithless, and ambitious princes known to history was converted by the obliquity of religious vision into a hero of the faith. After the conquest of Aquitaine little remained but the perpetration of a few useful domestic crimes to complete the structure of his power. The nation submitted with frank cordiality to his sway; its divisions civil and religious were healed; the Frankish conquerors began to amalgamate with the native population; and the power of the Merovingian family was placed upon a foundation which sustained it on the throne of France and Germany for a period of nearly two centuries.

Causes of the growth of the Frankish power.

Thus, while the other barbaric kingdoms were falling into decay, the Frankish power grew and prospered in spite of all the impediments of a vicious and barbarous form of government—in spite of murderous dissensions among their princes, civil wars, and unbounded licentiousness in every department of the State. The baptism of Clovis by the orthodox Remigius of Rheims had in fact proclaimed a religious peace and alliance between the victors and the vanquished; the pride of the former was assuaged; the resentment of the subject was mitigated by a communion of faith and worship; the intermixture of the two races was facilitated; a family connection grew up among them, and the distinction between Frank and Roman was becoming gradually obliterated. In the Ostragothic and Vandalic kingdoms, on the other hand, in addition to those various causes of alienation which usually divide the ruling from the subject nation, this amalgamation was obstructed by religious discord. The Visigoths of Spain were for the present saved by their well-defended position from the fate which befell the cognate kingdoms of Italy, Gaul, and Africa; yet even in Spain the government acquired no degree of stability till the Gothic con-

querors were prevailed upon to conform to the dogmatic creed of the vanquished. Carrying our view in advance of the events of the sixth century, we find the like remark applicable to the power which arose upon the ruins of the Ostragothic monarchy in Italy: the Arian Longobardi were drawn by the same state-necessity into communion with their Catholic fellow-subjects, and by conformity alone saved themselves from the fatal corrosion of religious hatred.[z]

Conclusion.

While these great events were in progress, Rome had earned for herself the proud title of champion of the Nicene or Catholic confession in Christendom; and every victory of that confession over or against the barbaric conquerors was the victory of Rome, as the leader and captain of Catholic Christianity. It must be left to the future to point out the extent of the advantages derived from those remarkable revolutions which followed the downfall of the western empire. We know not whether a continuation of this work will be called for; but it is certain that without some outline of the events in question, no complete view of the position of the Petrine power in the political world of the future could be obtained, and the key to that prodigious influence over the barbaric kingdoms of the north which she so rapidly established would be lost. Such an outline was of importance to show what obstacles were removed—how the ground was cleared—what the nature of the soil from which that power was thenceforth to draw its strength and nourishment. As far as we have proceeded, it is manifest that no two states of circumstances can be more different than that under which Rome had hitherto thriven, and that to which she must henceforward strive to accommodate herself. We can hardly avoid asking ourselves the questions: What would have been the fortunes of the papacy if it had continued in permanent association with a strong and vigorous form of civil polity like that of the empire in its better days? What, if the emperors had successfully made head against the

[z] See "Hist. of the Germans," pp. 493-544 passim, and the authorities there quoted; with the addition of *Jornandes* and *Isidore* of Hispalis.

barbaric invaders? What, if those invaders, instead of tolerating the religion of the people and respecting the property of the churches, had ruthlessly destroyed and plundered them? What, if they had indiscriminately reduced the ministers of the churches, with all other subjects of the conquered states, to the condition of villains and slaves, and at once swept away all laws and institutions intended for their protection? Under any of these suppositions it is inconceivable that the church of Rome could have aspired to any higher position than that of a dependent upon the State; it is indeed most probable that her influence would have sunk at least to the level of that she enjoyed under the predecessors of Constantine the Great—if it had not vanished altogether. But by the overthrow of every domestic check, Rome was now not only relieved from any material pressure from without, but was encouraged as much by her duty as her interest to take a leading part in the political government of her own communion. That she should connect this duty and this interest with the high prerogative of her presumed position in the Church was natural, and—in respect of expediency—desirable. That she should succeed in fusing all these—duty, interest, prerogative—together, into one all-comprehensive scheme of a universal temporal and spiritual autocracy, was a result which far outstripped the sagacity of the most profound observers of that age, however clear to us the steps may now be by which she arrived at this magnificent result.

APPENDICES TO BOOK II.

A. Chap. ii. p. 309.

The spurious Nicene canons.—The question whether the annexation of the Sardican canons to those of Nicæa in the Roman copies was a fraud or a mistake has been the subject of animated discussion. At first sight it must appear a very bold step to attempt to pass off an interpolation of this character upon the catholic Church, with (one would believe) a full knowledge that many genuine transcripts of the original documents must have been extant, by a comparison with which the fraud would be easily detected. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the western churches had taken very little part in the transactions of Nicæa; while those of Sardica were, perhaps, more familiarly known to them (conf. Book I. ch. ix. pp. 204 et sqq.). It is, therefore, not an improbable supposition that the two sets of canons had become so mixed up with each other on the Roman registers as to appear as a single series without any deliberate design to impose upon the world a falsified edition of the "holiest of all councils." Others, again, contend that the confusion was premeditated; and that the whole conduct of the popes Zosimus, Boniface, and Cœlestine shows that they presumed upon the remoteness and the ignorance of the African churches to persuade them that the appellate jurisdiction of Rome was established upon the sacred authority of a council enjoying a reputation equal to that of divine revelation. But, in answer to this, it is alleged that the pontiffs could not have believed that the Africans possessed no copies of the Nicene decrees; that it is more natural to suppose that they thought that their copies were identical with the Roman transcripts; and that the interpolation was imputable rather to the ignorance or error of the Roman copyists than to an intent to deceive on the part of the pontiffs, who would naturally adopt the copies as they found them on their own registers. And, indeed, we learn from the work of *Van Espen* (Dissert. iii. de Prist. Cod. Eccl. Rom. § 2), that a very ancient Ms. copy of the Roman canon law was found by M. Quesnel in the library of Oriel College at Oxford, containing all the canons of Sardica under the single title of "Canons of Nicæa," forty-six in one numerical series. It is urged that the pontifical court always regarded the council of Sardica as œcumenical, consequently its canons as of equal authority with those of the preceding council; and that it was more-

over held and predicated of the former that they were only the complement of the latter, and merely intended to supply a proper instrument for the due execution of the v^th^ canon of Nicæa relating to ecclesiastical causes. Such a mode of viewing the two sets of ordinances, it is contended, might easily lead to the identification in question, without supposing any intention to deceive.

On the other hand, the imputation of fraud derives countenance from several circumstances attending the transactions with the African churches in the cause of Apiarius. If ever there was an imperative call upon the pontiffs to exhibit their own documents, that call was now made. The Africans had challenged them to search their archives for their copies, and to procure transcripts from the eastern churches in order thereby to verify their own; as, in fact, they (the Africans) were themselves about to do. The popes did neither; thereby laying themselves open to the imputation of indifference to the truth at least, if not to the still graver charge of an obstinate adherence to error. But after the search at Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, and the fullest notification of its results, they could no longer have been ignorant of the spurious character of their own documents. After this, it seems clear that any attempt to sustain the latter amounted to a deliberate imposture: yet Rome still refused to acknowledge her error, and rather than recede from the false position, continued to insist upon the genuineness of a detected forgery: so, in the very last scene of the comedy, the legate Faustinus again presented the false instrument, and insisted upon it as the law of the Church.

It may be further observed in support of this view, that the Sardican synod is only once named in the documents relating to the appeal of Apiarius. This mention occurs in the "Commonitorium," or instruction of pope Zosimus; and then only for the purpose of giving countenance to the serious error that the fathers of Sardica had adopted the interpolated canons from the genuine series of the Nicene ordinances. To the Africans themselves not a syllable is breathed about Sardica; for which silence (ignorance being out of the question) no better reason can be assigned than an apprehension that a more specific reference to the source of the alleged ordinances might have put them upon the true scent, and have led to the peremptory rejection of the appellate authority claimed by the popes.

The Roman church seems to have felt the pinch of this transaction with the Africans down to a much later period of her history. In order to do away with the adverse impression which the successful resistance of the Africans under Aurelius and Augustine might have produced, we find in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals—a fabrication of the ninth century—a forged letter of pope Boniface II. (A.D. 530) to the then bishop of Alexandria, stating that Aurelius of Carthage and the African bishops had been excommunicated by his predecessors Boniface I. and Cœlestine, and had continued aliens from the communion of Rome from that time to his own; but that very lately one Eulalius had been deputed from those churches to acknowledge their error, and to sue for restoration to Catholic communion. If this were

true, St. Augustine himself and many other illustrious saints must have died out of the Roman pale, and their names ought to be struck out of the calendar of the holy see. But such a prospect alarmed the papal advocates; Cardinal Baronius shrinks from it (see his notes upon the Martyrol. Roman. ad diem Oct. 16, ap. *Van Espen*, tom. iii. p. 473), yet covers his retreat by assuming a tone which would resemble that of a vulgar bully, if he had not received serious provocation from the rude terms used by the Magdeburg centuriators, and their vehement exultations over the palpable detection of those fraudulent practices by which (as they allege) the *Roman imposture* was sustained throughout—a tone which might well provoke an inquisitorial growl from the irritable champion of papal omnipotence. See *Baron.* Ann. 419, §§ 65-67; and compare these passages with *Cent. Magdeb.* cent. v. pp. 1206, 1237, 1238.

B. Chap. vi. p. 434.

Leo the Great on the Incarnation.—The celebrated "Epistola circularis ad Flavianum" stands as ep. xxv. in Cacciari's edition of the works of Leo the Great, and ep. xxiv. in that of Quesnel. The task which the pontiff took upon himself was, so to frame a theory of the Incarnation as to steer a middle course between the Nestorian and the Eutychian doctrine of the two natures in the Christ. Both parties professed to adopt the Nicene confession as their rule of faith; they admitted the coequality, coeternity, and consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. Again, both acknowledged a divine and a human nature in the Christ. But the Nestorians maintained a *human* nativity only; the man Jesus, said they, was conceived and born into the world through the womb of a mortal virgin, and by an independent union with the Divinity became *the Christ.* They did not, indeed, object to the application of the term to the person of Jesus, for after the union He became the Christ; but they repudiated the idea of the Godhead being born into the world of a mortal mother; they would not allow that He who was from all eternity (the Christ) could begin to be through human instrumentality; therefore, though the God Christ might through the Virgin take the form of man—*i. e.* assume a mortal and passible body like hers—yet that He could not thus come into the world *as God.* The followers of Cyril, on the other hand, raised the whole controversy by importing a single word into the argument. They declared that the doctrine of Nestorius necessarily implied a *substantial* division or rending (διαίρεσις) of the divine from the human nature (φύσις), which was the same thing as holding two *persons* (ὑποστάσεις) in the Christ (see Book II. c. iii. p. 327); therefore, said they, there can be no *hypostatic* distinction between the human and the divine natures. Nestorius rejoined, that if this be true, the human nature must be swallowed up in the divine; there could be no such combination of the finite with the infinite, because the former must necessarily merge

in the latter; in *such a union* the Christ must be impassible, incapable of sorrow, suffering, and death; a doctrine plainly contrary to the written word: a *hypostatic* union of the divinity with the humanity is therefore inconsistent, and refutes itself.

As between the Greek disputants the controversy turned upon the word ὑπόστασις; and it strikes me that on both sides it was used to denote a *substantial* union, in such wise that, in its application to the subject in dispute, the hypostatic union of the divinity with the humanity meant a fusion of both natures into consubstantiality; in which case no doubt the counterplea of Nestorius was unanswerable.

Whether pope Leo discerned the danger which lurked in the term ὑπόστασις or not, we cannot decide; but certain it is, that in his treatise on the incarnation he has not once used it. Instead of it,—that is, where the Greek disputants would have used it,—he substitutes the word πρόσωπον—*persona*. But in the Greek ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον convey very different ideas: the former denotes that which underlies and supports something else, and is properly rendered by the Latin word "substantia;" whereas the latter signifies form, or mode of outward manifestation. Thus, while the Eutychians and their opponents were disputing about a substantial union or identification, pope Leo was talking about a form or mode of existence. The Eutychians *identified* the humanity and the divinity in the substance of the Christ; in fact, they appear to have considered the union of the two natures as of the same kind as that of the Father with the Son, that is, a consubstantial union, as taught in the Nicene symbol. Pope Leo, however, by adopting the word "persona" (πρόσωπον) for ὑπόστασις, avoided that identification; for a mode of outward manifestation is very distinguishable from *substance* or *being*. He simply maintains that the man Jesus was made manifest as the Christ, and that in that manifestation were combined all the properly human and all the properly divine attributes; the former made known to us by His sufferings and death, the latter by His miracles and resurrection. In this form of union (πρόσωπον) Leo maintained—and proved from Scripture—that both natures existed together in the Christ without injury to each other,—the divine undiminished by the human, and the human in no respect obscured or altered by the divine; Christ, in His divinity consubstantial with the Father, and in His humanity the "Son of man," born *as man* into the world through the Virgin's womb.

Such appears to have been the scope and intent of pope Leo's address to the eastern churches. He more than once uses the word "forma" as synonymous with "persona;" he avoids pronouncing upon the intrinsic nature of that form, using it only as the proper expression of his conception of the union of the divine and human in Christ. He adopts, it is true, a twofold nativity—a human by which He became man, a divine in which His original nature was retained unaltered; but he abstains from assigning any moment of time as that of the divine birth, and thus prudently escapes the great controversy of the Theotokos. He confines himself to the single task of proving from Scripture that Christ was both God and man; and in this he had no

material difficulty; but his reply to the great argument of the Eutychians is not so clear. Those heretics asserted that, the conception having been the work of the Holy Ghost, the being born of the Virgin could not partake of her nature, because she thereby became the mere vehicle for bringing the God Christ into the world. Leo replied that in fact the Holy Ghost imparted to her no more than the fecundity, or power to conceive, so as still to leave the nature of the body to be born to be determined by the parturient body. See the treatise ap. Op. *S. Leon.* tom. ii. ep. xxv. c. ii. pp. 116 to 119. It is difficult to say which of these theses displays the greater rashness of conjecture.

The Eutychians did not, however, peremptorily deny the incarnation. Christ, they say, came in the flesh through the Theotokos, or God-bearing Virgin; but He came *as God, not as man;* and they describe His being as the one *incarnate nature* in the *one hypostasis.* In this they were obviously misled by the latter term. If they could have been induced to adopt the Leonine words "forma" and "persona" (*μορφή* and *πρόσωπον*), they might perhaps not have objected to the proposition that in that form or manifestation was combined both the human and the divine as distinct and separate qualities or constituent properties; leaving the essence (*οὐσία*) of the Christ as it was before the human nativity. Thus they might have been brought at least to a *verbal* agreement with the Latins; perhaps the most desirable issue of a verbal dispute. And, in fact, the Eutychians might have adopted that course without abandoning their favourite tenet of absorption; they might have accepted the Leonine formula, as it affected the *mode of manifestation* of the Christ,—that is, in His person,—while retaining their peculiar opinion as to His essential character (*ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία*). But Leo contended against the *hypostatic* union, and had easy work in refuting the opinion that the Son of God had not been born, lived, suffered, and died as God manifest in the flesh. He failed to take the distinction which might perhaps have smothered the whole controversy, and have saved the Christian world from the most fatal disturbances. But Leo thought less of persuading than of controlling the consciences of men. His work was not an apology for his own views of Christian doctrine, but an edict issuing from the chair of Peter—not an invitation to inquiry, but an "end of controversy." It therefore mattered very little to him how his antagonists might reconcile the difficulties of the question, provided they accepted and signed his decree.

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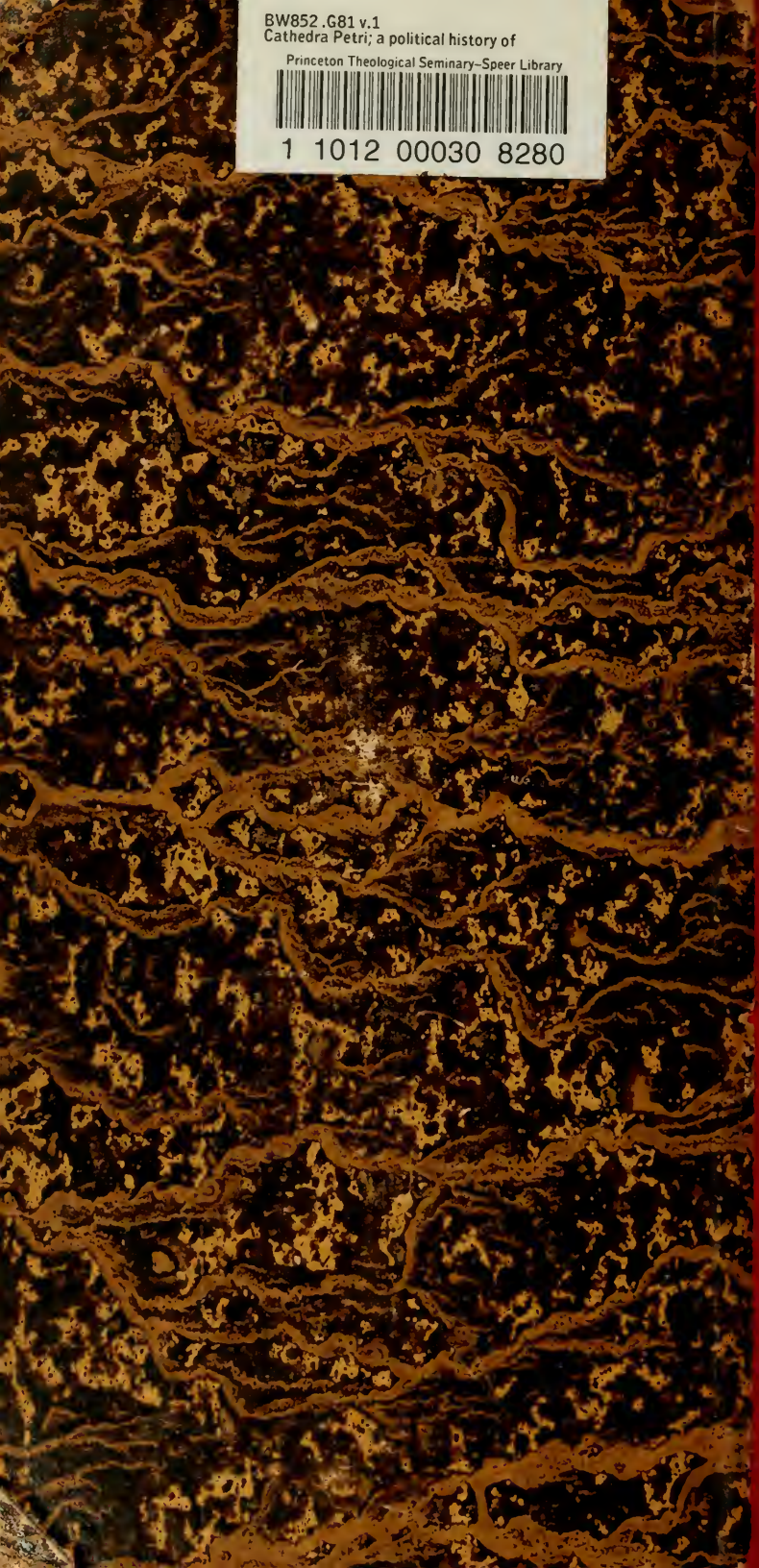
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